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REPORTS OF THE CHACO CENTER
Number Four

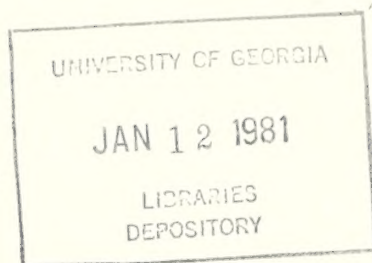
A History of the Chaco Navajos

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REPORTS OF THE CHACO CENTER
Number Four



/ A History of the Chaco Navajos /

by

David M. Brugge

DIVISION OF CHACO RESEARCH

National Park Service

U. S. Department of the Interior

Albuquerque, New Mexico
1980

REPORTS OF THE CHACO CENTER

W. James Judge
General Editor

(Published as of September 1978)

1. LYONS, THOMAS R., ED.
1976 Remote Sensing Experiments in Cultural Resource Studies: Non-destructive Methods of Archeological Exploration, Survey, and Analysis. Reports of the Chaco Center, No. 1. National Park Service and the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
2. LYONS, THOMAS R.; AND R. K. HITCHCOCK, EDS.
1977 Aerial Remote Sensing Techniques in Archeology. Reports of the Chaco Center, No. 2. National Park Service and the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
4. BRUGGE, DAVID M.
1979 A History of the Chaco Navajos. Reports of the Chaco Center, No. 4. Division of Chaco Research, National Park Service, Albuquerque.
5. WINDES, THOMAS C.
1978 Stone Circles of Chaco Canyon, Northwestern New Mexico. Reports of the Chaco Center, No. 5. Division of Chaco Research, National Park Service, Albuquerque.

Correspondence regarding the reports of the Chaco Center should be addressed to the Editorial Assistant, Division of Chaco Research, National Park Service, P.O. Box 26176, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87125.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Chaco Center, a joint National Park Service/University of New Mexico facility, was established in 1971 to conduct multidisciplinary research in and about Chaco Canyon National Monument, New Mexico. One of the Center's missions is to disseminate information resulting from its various programs to those individuals and institutions involved in similar or related types of research. Most monographs concerning major projects of the Center will be issued as numbers of the National Park Service Publications in Archeology series.

Other reports, prepared by staff members of the Chaco Center or individuals collaborating with the Center may deal with narrowly defined specific problems or may merit more timely publication. These also are significant contributions to knowledge, and need to be made available to those concerned. With this goal in mind, Dr. Robert Lister established the Reports of the Chaco Center series in 1976 as a mechanism to provide limited distribution of copies of these papers in an economical fashion. W. James Judge assumed the editorship of the series in 1978, when Dr. Lister retired.

The Reports of the Chaco Center include papers based on research in the Chaco Canyon area proper, or on Chaco-related phenomena in the larger San Juan Basin. Most archeological reports will be prepared by staff members of the Division of Chaco Research, while studies in other fields of anthropology, and in biology, geography, geology, and other disciplines will be written primarily by collaborating scholars, many of whom are associated with the University of New Mexico.

Editing of the Reports will strive to provide a degree of uniformity in certain aspects of format, style, and specialized terminology, but will not place restrictions upon or attempt to influence authors' opinions or interpretations of materials and data.

The Chaco Center maintains an up-to-date list of all published papers, reports, and monographs dealing with Chacoan or Chaco-related research sponsored by or carried out in collaboration with the Center, regardless of where they might be published. This list, entitled "Contributions of the Chaco Center," is available on request from the Division of Chaco Research.

This is Report Number 4. The first two Reports dealt primarily with remote-sensing techniques and experiments. The third one, still in preparation, deals with Chacoan satellite or outlier communities in the San Juan Basin. Others are planned, and will be published as they become available.

FOREWORD

The spectacular ruins of Chaco Canyon have long borne mute testimony to a culture which flourished there in the 12th century A.D. Early recognition of this led to attempts on the part of the white man first to exploit, and later to try to protect, Chaco Canyon as a place of unique importance to the heritage of the American Indian. Thus it is not surprising that for the Navajo people who chose to settle there, conflict would be inevitable.

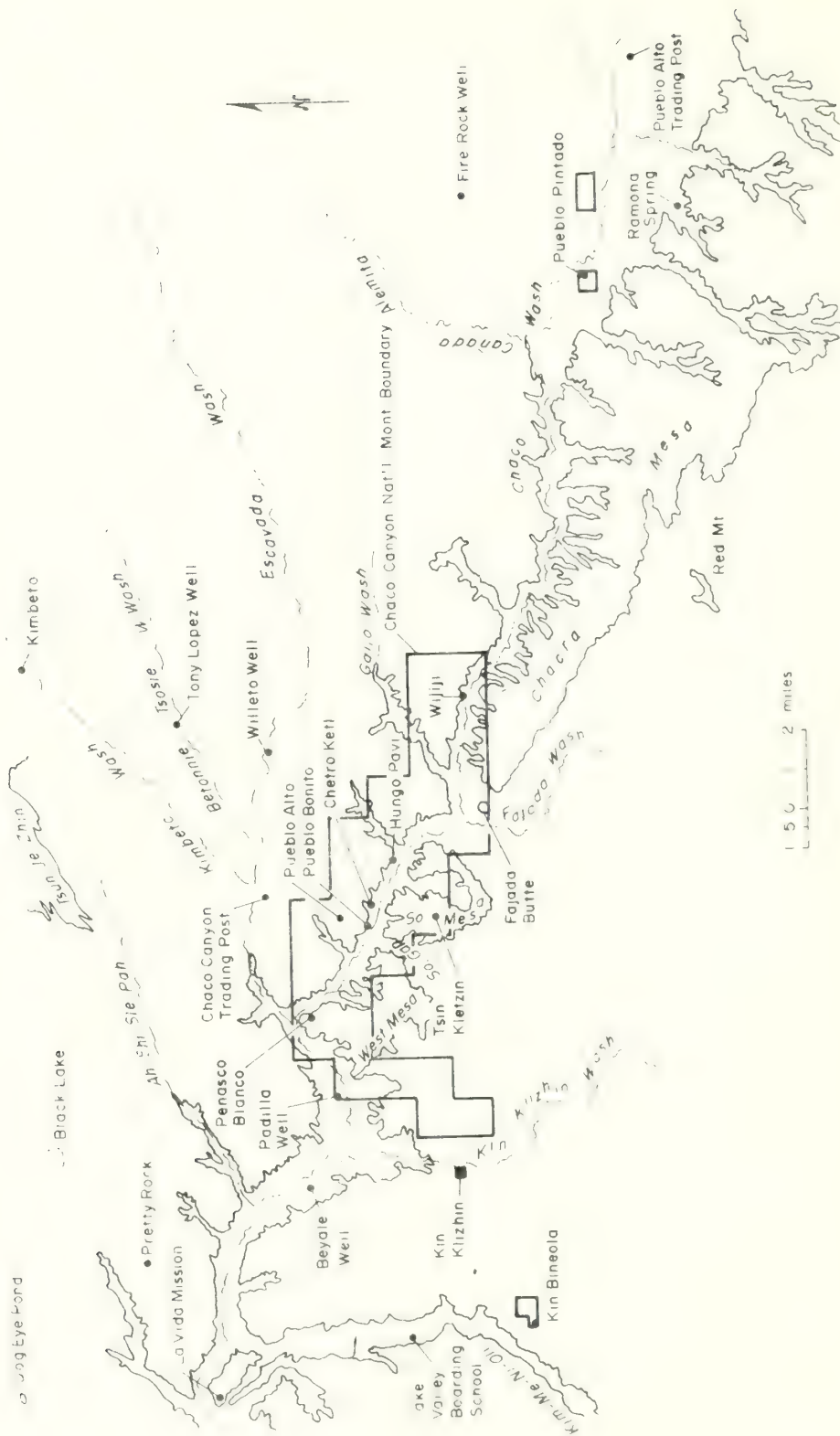
In the present report David Brugge, a National Park Service anthropologist and a recognized authority on the Athabaskans of the Southwest, carefully and meticulously details the history of the Navajo people of the Chaco area. Brugge's account is fundamentally descriptive and consciously impartial. Yet at times he presents us alternative views to the published accounts of historical events of the area, offering the "Navajo version" as gleaned from interviews with the old people themselves.

Beginning with the earliest historical records of the Canyon, the reader is given a glimpse of Navajo culture as it confronts and tries to adapt to the intrusion of the white man in the San Juan Basin. The chronologies of stockmen, Indian agents, homesteaders, land surveys, and archeologists are all carefully presented as they relate to the Chaco area. The Wetherill era in Chaco Canyon, as well as its influence on the local people, is given extensive treatment. The constant hardships encountered, including harsh winters, discrimination, stock reductions, flu epidemics, the whiskey problem, and the violence which sometimes resulted, are all carefully documented.

As the history unfolds, the reader also observes related events, such as the development of the Indian Service, off-reservation settlements through allotment, and the growth of Chapters and Chapter Houses. In the last section, we see Navajo crews fencing themselves out of the same canyon the Anasazi were forced to abandon centuries before.

From 1973 to 1976, Dave Brugge was assigned to the Chaco Center to undertake research relevant to this and other projects involving the Chaco Navajo. While he was a member of our staff, the rest of us rapidly gained an enduring respect for his knowledge and his appreciation of the way of life of the Chaco Navajo, a way of life which now more than ever is threatened by energy-related development in the San Juan Basin. As socio-economic changes occur more and more rapidly, this document will become increasingly valuable in archival quality alone. Perhaps more importantly however, it will serve as a valuable asset to those who continue to work in the Basin, assessing the impact of energy development on traditional life styles.

W. James Judge
May 1979



Modern place names at Chaco Canyon

To

Frank McNitt

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INTRODUCTION

The prehistory of the Chaco country will always remain a sphere dominated by the anthropological approach, for no contemporary written records of the human occupation were ever made. Any attempt to discern what took place must be reconstructed from the campsites, ruins, potsherds, and legends that supply a cloudy picture of developments and events seemingly lost in the passage of centuries. Each new generation is able to bring new tools and concepts into play in our efforts to produce an account that might be viewed as a reconstruction; each advance makes our conclusions seem more firm. Even so, we are still unsure whether we will ever be able to extract well-established data sufficient to enable us to really understand the times we investigate.

If we are ever to gain the knowledge that we seek, the traditions of the descendants of the original inhabitants must be taken into account. Their lifeways, their world views, and their oral literature all form a part of these traditions. Perhaps even their histories during more recent periods may provide insights into earlier days.

Tales tell of the Great Gambler, who controlled all the wealth of the Chaco country, and enslaved all the people--of the Woman Who Starves You, who led young men astray--and of White Butterfly, who successfully contended with these personages--of a buried treasure of turquoise and shell--and of hints that the manipulators of Chacoan society came out of the south, perhaps from far-distant central Mexico. The people who tell these stories relate them in a language whose origin can be traced to the north--a language that is generally believed to not have been spoken in the Chaco country for more than a few centuries, post-dating the abandonment of the great pueblos whose ruins are today the most striking features of the region.

However, it is a basic premise of anthropology that race, language, and culture are independent variables, and a closer examination of the cultural history of the present-day Navajo residents of the Chaco country leaves open the possibility that they do indeed have a legitimate right to tell legends going back to the time of the Anasazi, and that their accounts

may well include the same sorts of leads to the remains of that past as do the Greek myths that have provided insights into the lives of the Minoans.

Whether Mexican kingdoms once were able to channel the products of Chacoan artisans southward is no longer a question, and an affirmative answer grows stronger with each completed research project devoted to the subject. Whether the kingdoms were also able to organize the labor of the Chacoans in some direct or indirect manner so as to make their supply of goods from the Colorado Plateau more secure, cheaper, and more plentiful is still unanswered. Did the Great Gambler exist? Was he a Mexican Indian? These are questions that Navajo traditions indicate to be relevant, for it is apparent that the sociocultural and racial heritage of the Tribe is more diverse than is its linguistic heritage.

There are also other aspects of history and prehistory that are of interest. The processes of culture change, inter-ethnic relations, and the effects of environment upon people are matters that we cannot ignore. When historic events took place on the same stage as prehistoric events did, the influences of environment must have been similar, although the results may have been far different when cultures of diverse origins were involved.

Analogies are tempting, but may be very misleading. They require rigorous testing before they can be safely accepted or rejected, or even understood as partly true and partly erroneous. Even so, the potential for analogy is rich in viewing the unknown past of the Anasazi and the known history of the Navajos in the Chaco Basin. If the seeming correspondences do not necessarily fit, they at least provide avenues worth exploring, and possibilities that should be considered before final conclusions are made.

Twice, it would seem that outsiders influenced the lives of the people of the eastern part of the Colorado Plateau from a center located in Chaco Canyon. The first was during Anasazi times. The nature of the influence of this remote period remains a subject of spirited debate, in which the form of the social, political, and economic factors involved is very hazy. The physical remains of the time are clearly evident, consisting of a major center at the canyon, outliers, and roads converging from the outliers toward the center. The second time was recent, and is a part of recorded history. The Hyde Exploring Expedition established its headquarters briefly at Pueblo Bonito, and for a short while controlled several outlying trading posts. The moving spirit of this

enterprise, Richard Wetherill, outlasted the expedition itself, and continued his efforts to control the trade of the region from the same center. The competition of larger and wealthier centers around the periphery of the Chaco Basin probably doomed his ambitions from the start, but for a few years Chaco again had its Great Gambler--an analogy that I do not doubt was made more than once by Navajo orators at local gatherings.

Whether the analogy is worthy of pursuit in scholarly studies does not seem to me to be a question so much as how best to approach it. Recent studies of Navajo trading provide suggestive leads, and the intellectual tools for analysis have been developed for at least a consideration of the geographic and economic similarities.

The multi-ethnic composition of the region since 1868 may well be analogous to its ethnic composition during the earlier period as well, but this is a matter about which even less agreement exists. It is possible that a consideration of the archeological remains of recent occupation will give us better ways to formulate hypotheses that could help answer the question of the degree of ethnic homogeneity or heterogeneity during prehistory. The history makes readily apparent that ethnicity was important to the more recent residents of the region. Navajos, Spanish-Americans, and Anglo-Americans are most conspicuous, but others also appear. Prejudice and idealism struggled in the minds of our predecessors as fully as in ours, and their successes and failures in dealing with them are obvious in the account that follows.

The political functions exercised by the Federal Government were designed to meet needs that seem quite different from any that might have been faced by the prehistoric Indians, but even here the possibilities for comparison do exist. Keeping peace between the various groups, whether ethnically dissimilar or divided only by sociopolitical boundaries, is always essential if trade is to flourish.

These are all uses to which I anticipate the present data will be applied sooner or later. They are not my only motivations for undertaking this work, however. A better account of the Navajo history of the region than now exists has long been needed. This report is an attempt to fill this need insofar as Navajo-white relations are concerned. Lack of data makes it impossible for this kind of a study to be a fully rounded chronicle of Navajo life through time, but as much information as could be gleaned from the documentary record that might help us gain a better understanding of the problems faced by

the Navajos has been included, even at the risk of disrupting the narrative of the events given primary emphasis. Thus, the changing weather, range conditions, and success or failure of crops are noted each year where mention was made of such variables in the historic record. The attention given to the white personages who are so prominent in the documents has been kept to a minimum, although a little background is presented regarding certain of the major characters, most of whom are fairly well known from other accounts in any case.

While I have tried to reconstruct something of how things might have appeared to a mythical "average" Navajo of the past, I cannot claim that this is a Navajo view of history. At most, I can hope that it will allow some insights into Navajo views. Navajos of yesteryear were individuals even as you and I, and diversity in Navajo opinions was certainly as true in the past as it is today. Just as there will be historians and anthropologists who will disagree with my interpretations, or parts of them, there will also be Navajos who will find things here which they will dispute. In the final analysis, this is my own view, and I must take full responsibility for putting it down on paper.

Many people have provided assistance in my research and deserve thanks for their efforts. Above all I must recognize the valuable cooperation of Mr. J. Lee Correll of the Navajo Tribal Research Section, whose generosity in allowing me access to copies of documents in the Tribal collections has been essential to the success of the study. Others whose aid in finding sources or in making copies available is greatly appreciated include Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of the New Mexico State Archives and Records Center; Dr. Frances L. Swadesh of the Museum of New Mexico; Dr. John P. Wilson of Las Cruces; Miss Mary Lu Moore, formerly of Special Collections, University of New Mexico Library, and Mrs. Mary Blumenthal of the same institution; Dr. Leland C. Wyman of Boston University; Mr. Walter P. Herriman, Superintendent of Chaco Canyon National Monument; Miss Wilma R. Kaemlein, formerly with the Western Archeological Center; Mrs. Maria Joy, Mr. Gary L. Morgan, and Dr. Richard S. Maxwell of the National Archives; Miss Katharine Bartlett of the Museum of Northern Arizona; Mrs. Cordelia Thomas Snow, formerly of the Museum of New Mexico; Dr. James R. Glenn of the Smithsonian Institution; Dr. David F. Aberle of the University of British Columbia; Mr. Paul Schullery of Yellowstone National Park; Mr. Edward O. Plummer of the Eastern Navajo Agency; Dr. David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History; Mrs. Idita M. Claymore of the Southwest Title Plant; Mrs. Margaret S. Bret Harte of the

Arizona Historical Society; Mr. Albert H. Schroeder of the National Park Service; and numerous others on the staffs of some of the above institutions for whom I lack space to include individually.

I wish also to acknowledge cooperation by others whose research has been shared with me and has contributed to this project. Most important has been the work of Mr. Robert Christie Collman, whose unpublished study of the Navajo army scouts made apparent the crucial role of Fort Wingate in the history of the Eastern Navajos, and whom I have quoted repeatedly. Others include Dr. Oswald Werner, Mr. Dennis Fransted, Mr. Terry Noonan, Mr. David Greenberg, Mr. Richard Levine, Miss Frances Levine, Mr. Ignacio Mares, Mr. Albert C. Ward, Mr. David Barde, Dr. Dean Fritzler, Mr. James I. Ebert, Mr. Robert K. Hitchcock, Dr. Marilyn Morgan, Mrs. Klara Kelley, and Mr. Robert W. Young.

Several early-day white residents of and visitors to the Chaco region have provided information of value. Especially deserving of recognition are Mr. G. H. Lobato, Mr. Albert Hutton, Mr. John Arrington, and Mrs. James G. Marsh.

Of my Park Service colleagues who have not been specifically noted elsewhere, I wish to give credit for aid, inspiration, and support of various sorts, particularly to Mr. Thomas W. Mathews; Dr. W. James Judge; Dr. Robert H. Lister; Dr. Thomas R. Lyons; Mr. Irving McNeil, Jr.; Mr. Arthur H. White; Mr. Charles B. Voll; Miss Caroline Wilson; Mr. Joe Cly; Mr. Cecil Werito; Mr. Andrew Charley; Mrs. Nathalie Pattison; Mrs. Catherine Ross; Mr. James R. Mount; Mrs. Dorothy Cassidy; Mrs. Laurent Rimbart; Mr. Alden C. Hayes; and Mr. Lloyd M. Pierson.

While only a small portion of the data in this study derive from fieldwork, I owe a debt to a very large number of Navajos in the Chaco country whose cooperation has made it possible to obtain some slight comprehension of what that region means to them as their ancestral home. A more complete acknowledgement of this debt will appear in my report of the historical archeology of the area, but here I must at least include Mr. Jimmie K. Lopez, Mr. Willie Norberto, Mr. Willie George, Mr. Tom Chischilly, Mr. Alfredo Cayadito, and Mrs. Mary Jane Harrison, in addition to those mentioned above. A few Navajos from outside the region also have played a part in my better knowledge of the subject. Mr. Vernon Morgan did invaluable work in the field, as did Mr. Wesley Begay. For more diffuse, but equally helpful, insights I thank Mr. Howard Gorman and Senator Arthur Hubbard.

For typing, I thank Chris Lopez, Matty Perez, Patti Dugan, Patricia Sedillo, Rosemary Ames, Lourdes Lujan, Olivia Gurule, and Anna Montoya; for editing and indexing, Jane Harvey. The frontispiece and Fig. 2 were drafted by Jerry Livingston. Administrative details that would have sunk me into a bureaucratic quagmire have been overcome by Delmar Peterson and Raymond Kloth.

In spite of all these allies and accomplices, as well as others not named, I have had the privilege of putting it all together in my own way. Where it succeeds, it could not have been done without the contributions of all--but where it fails, I must take the blame.

D.M.B.

Chapter 1

THE TIME OF THE WARS

HISTORY

As with many portions of the Southwest, the identification of the Chaco region in early historical documentation is confused by the variation in usage in place names through time. The major periods of change in names seem to have been from the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 through the Reconquest, and again during and following the Mexican War. No name that might be reasonably identified as a variant of the term Chaco has been found in the writings of the colonists in New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt. There were few changes in names in the region after the arrival of the Anglo-Americans other than the simple translation of Spanish names into English and the introduction of minor phonological variations in names ultimately of Indian origin.

Two names that might refer to the region appear in 17th-century reports. One is Casa Fuerte--literally "strong house," or "fortified house." That Casa Fuerte was in Navajo country is definite, but that it originated with the ruins of Chaco Canyon is quite uncertain, at best an inference based on the more likely of several possible locations. Of the historic pueblos, Jemez was and is the one closest to Chaco Canyon and its neighbors immediately to the south. Zia is next closest. The Jemez villages and Zia were frequent places of contact with the Apaches de Nabaxó from the earliest of historic times. Many other portions of Navajo country could be reached easily from these pueblos, and the name of Casa Fuerte might well have been applied to some topographic feature used by the Apaches as a stronghold or bearing a fancied resemblance to a fortified structure. Thus even an association of the name with contacts of the Spaniards and Pueblos with the Apaches de Nabaxó does not eliminate a number of other possible locations, but it does narrow down the area somewhat.

Such an association does seem to appear in the few documents in which the term is used. The destruction of the archives in Santa Fe at the time of the Pueblo Revolt has left us with a very small and probably far-from-representative sample of the reports and correspondence produced before that event. In all except two instances, the term appears in a set of documents known as the Domínguez Papers--records presented by Juan Domínguez de Mendoza to substantiate his services to the King of Spain in an effort to obtain appointment as Governor of New Mexico. Pending publication of these documents by Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes, I have relied on excerpts from the documents by Frank D. Reeve and R. Gwinn Vivian. Domínguez appears to have operated out of the Jemez-Zia region; at least a number of the campaigns he led into Navajo country originated there.

The starting point of Domínguez' first expedition against the Apaches de Nabaxó is not revealed, but the areas visited were "the Rio Grande (the San Juan River), Navajo, and Cassa-Fuerte." This was during the 1647-1649 administration of Governor Luís de Guzmán y Figueroa (1).

In the time of Governor Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha (1649-53), there was a conspiracy for revolt exposed among the Southern Tiwa of Alameda, Isleta, and Sandia; the Keres of San Felipe and Cochiti; and the Towa of the Jemez pueblos. Apaches had joined in the plot, leading the Governor to send troops against them under Domínguez. Again his point of departure is not specified, but the places attacked were "Casa Fuerte Navajo and Matanssas" (2). Whether Casa Fuerte Navajo is one term or two is uncertain here, although I think two were intended.

Sometime during the years 1654-56, Domínguez led another attack on the Navajos following a raid on Jemez (3). In this case the expedition probably left from Jemez, but its destination is not given.

Describing New Mexico during the decade of the 1650's, Fray Alonso de Posada wrote (4):

To give knowledge about this land let us again begin at thirty-seven degrees in Santa Fe, the center of New Mexico, thence taking a straight line from this place to the northwest region between south and north crossing the mountains called Casafuerte or Navajo one arrives at the Grande river which goes straight west, a distance of seventy leagues, a land possessed by the Apaches, and crossing said Grande river one enters the Yutas nation.

Despite the rather confusing directions given by Fray Alonso, a literal reading of his text would seem to rule out the possibility that the Chaco ruins were the inspiration for the name Casa Fuerte. However, there is a fair probability that the name might have been used in both general and specific senses, and until more precise evidence is discovered, the somewhat inferential data on the Domínguez campaigns should also be considered.

In 1663, Captain Nicolás de Aguilar used the term in a reference to the Apaches "in the jurisdiction of Casa Fuerte and Navajo" (5). Domínguez seems not to have been in the field against the Apaches de Nabaxó during the 1660's, but in 1673 he was ordered out to attack them in "the jurisdiction of Rio Grande, Casa Fuerte Navajo and all other jurisdictions and territories where it is necessary" (6). Again the two terms "Casa Fuerte" and "Navajo" appear together as though one.

In 1675, Domínguez again took to the field, leading 340 men out from Zia "to the cordilleras of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and other places necessary" (7a) (7b).

The year 1678 saw three campaigns into Navajo territory, all led by Domínguez. The first, consisting of 450 men, set out from Zia in July for "the cordilleras of Casa Fuerte Navajo, Rio Grande and their districts," and returned by way of the Chama River (8a) (8b).

The details regarding the second campaign, which left in August, are not known, but the third, which took place in December, again sallied from Zia to the "cordilleros of the west, of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, peñoles and other places" (9). The name Peñoles, which continued in use in the early 18th century, seems to have been applied to the Largo-Gobernador region, and will not be further considered here except as noted below.

The final Navajo campaign before the Pueblo Revolt took place in August 1679, and consisted of two divisions operating simultaneously--one led by Domínguez from Zia, and another led by Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier from Taos. Details are not available (10a) (10b).

The recorded events of the Revolt and Reconquest took place for the most part in Pueblo country. The major effect of these events on the Navajos was the acquisition of captives and refugees, most of them people of Pueblo origin who brought many cultural practices of Pueblo and European derivation. It is of interest that one traditional account of the beginnings of Navajo weaving attributes it to a Pueblo woman living as a slave among the Navajos at Wijiji (11).

Little appears that might be considered as specific mention of the Chaco region in the early 18th century. General descriptions encompass the area, as they did earlier, but of the various campaigns against the Navajos following the Reconquest, only the last, in 1716, which went and returned by way of Jemez to a place called Los Peñolitos at a distance of 35 leagues, seems a likely prospect (12). It is not certain that Los Peñolitos is no more than a variant of the name Los Peñoles, but the distance suggests a different locale, and Chacra Mesa seems one possibility.

During the long era of peace between Navajo and Spaniard that followed this early series of wars, there is no mention of any place that might be readily attributed to Chaco Canyon. Recorded penetration of Navajo country was by missionaries and settlers, as well as by one prospecting expedition.

The peace continued for several decades, and eventually settlers felt safe enough to move into Navajo country. When the Ignacio Chávez Grant was made in 1768, the northern boundary was described as "a white mesa that is commonly called the Mesa de Chaca" (13). Noteworthy is the fact that the grantees were admonished that they should not infringe on any prior rights, "especially of the Apaches de Nabajo (if there should be some on the lands that these parties request) and with the condition of not dispossessing them nor expelling them from what they might have occupied previously, but to treat them with love and Christian sincerity, thereby attracting them to our Holy Faith and Vassalage to our Sovereign" (14). The 1768 Chaca lay at the far eastern end of Chacra Mesa, but this is the earliest known use of a form of this name. The nearest Spanish settlement during this period was that of Nacimiento at present-day Cuba, which lasted such a short time and is so poorly documented that little can be said regarding it.

After the presence of settlers had provoked resumption of warfare in 1774, the Chaca name appears again, applied generally in the right part of the country, on the famous series of maps drawn by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco. This Chaca is located well north of "Ojo del Hoso," the Bear Spring near present-day Fort Wingate Indian School and west of the upper Rio Puerco of the East, and is accompanied by little hogan-like symbols (15). The suggestion of Navajo settlement in the Chaco region at this time is strong, but there is no evidence that Don Bernardo visited there himself, nor does any indication of the ruins appear on his maps. The inference that one or more campaigns during the war of 1774-1775 penetrated the Chaco region is perhaps allowed by this data, but until better documentation of the hostilities comes to light, considerable uncertainty must remain.

Bandelier, much later, heard tradition from one of Don Bernardo's descendants that Miera y Pacheco did visit the Chaco ruins--and that he even produced maps or ground plans--but he was never able to locate these documents (16a-16c). The canyon and ruins do not appear on the maps of the 1770's, so Don Bernardo is not likely to have made such a trip until later--if at all--and then only in the last years of his life, as he died in 1785 (17). More recent inquiries made in Mexico have failed to turn up these alleged maps.

Cordero's description of the Apache tribes is often cited as evidence of Navajo settlement at Chaco in 1793. One of the 10 Navajo "domiciles" that he lists is Chacoli (18). However, the Miera y Pacheco map of 1779 shows a place with the same name near the Ojo del Espíritu Santo, east of the Rio Puerco (19), and this latter locale is undoubtedly that intended by Cordero.

In the 19th century, there began to be some very specific reports that can be identified with modern names. The earliest is the report in 1804 of a Spanish civil official, the justice at Jemez, who, following his pursuit of one band of Navajo raiders, returned to find that his own herds had been run off in his absence. Trailing the stock, he overtook them at a place called Agua del Raton--probably present-day Raton Spring near Pueblo Pintado. There he found so many Navajos that he did not dare attack with his small force of 15 men (20). The name Pueblo del Ratón was applied to Pueblo Pintado a number of times in subsequent years, and it was most conclusively identified with that ruin by Simpson's detailed journal of the Washington expedition of 1849 (21). On the same day that the justice reported his unsuccessful pursuit of lost stock, the alcalde mayor of Alameda reported that the Navajos had killed some shepherders at Nacimiento (22).

Also during the war of 1804-1805, according to Pedro Bautista Pino in his Exposición of 1812, Lieutenant Don Vincente López led a party of armed settlers to "the Chacá mesas," where he defeated the Navajos (23).

The years of peace following this war again leave us with a gap in the record, but Melgares' war of 1818-1819 led to two more items, as well as giving us reason to suspect that Spanish forces again penetrated the area. Immediately following the termination of hostilities, Navajos from the "Chaca Mesas" came to Jemez to buy corn (24). In the treaty of August 21, 1819, limits were set regarding the distance New Mexican stockmen might take their herds into Navajo country.

These were Canyon Largo, the mouth of Chaco Canyon, and Bluewater (25). Melgares asserted that the New Mexicans' stock had reached these limits in the past, but it is more probable that he exaggerated, or took at face value exaggerated claims by white stockmen who coveted the pasturage further to the west.

Another local name that appears in the early records is that of Seven Lakes, but in the variant form of Siete Ojos, or "Seven Springs." A Mexican campaign force that was plagued by mutiny camped at this place for about a week en route from Cebolleta to the Chusca Valley. A great many place names are used in the report of this expedition, most of which cannot be identified today, but it does not appear likely that the force got any closer to Chaco Canyon than Seven Lakes (26).

The first description of a trip down Chaco Wash also appeared as a result of a Navajo war. In June 1823, José Antonio Vizcarra led a force of 1,500 men westward through Jemez. His route took him first to El Chaculin, nine leagues from the pueblo--undoubtedly the same place referred to as Chacoli in reports of the previous century. The next day he reached the Rio Puerco, and the following day marched to Torreon, detailing a scouting party to reconnoiter the Canyons of Vicente, probably along present-day Vicenti Wash at the southeast end of Chacra Mesa. The next day he again marched nine leagues, stopping on the way at a place he called Mesa Azul--apparently a portion of Chacra Mesa--and camping for the night at La Agua de San Carlos on the headwaters of the Chaco River. From here it was six leagues to Pueblo Pintado, identified as "the first Pueblo del Ratón." Obviously there were men on the expedition who had been over the route before, probably during one of Melgares' wars of a few years previous. He described the Chaco, which he called the Arroyo de San Carlos, as follows (27):

. . . According to indications the water is not permanent, but on this march it has been found always flowing. There are good fields for the pasturing of stock and superior lands for planting by dry farming. Its course makes different turns, but it is my opinion that it finally joins the San Juan River to the north.

The next day's march seems to have followed down the canyon, ending at a place called El Peñasco, seven leagues (about 17½ miles) to the west. This would be just a little short of Peñasco Blanco, if the distance is accurate, which Vizcarra's distances seem generally to be. He noted that "the ruins of several pueblos were found, which were of such antiquity that their inhabitants were not known to Europeans" (27).

This is the first known written mention of the ruins, but it seems likely that, in more than two centuries of Spanish occupation of New Mexico, ruins of such size and so close at hand must have been seen, and that earlier reports must have been written, which, if still existent, may be expected to come to light in time.

Vizcarra's return journey brought him up the canyon toward the end of August, and the first camp, at a place identifiable in the region, was at Cerrito Fajada, obviously present-day Mesa Fajada. His succeeding stops were at Pueblo del Ratón, Agua de San Carlos, Mesa Azul, and Arroyo de los Portales--the last probably near Torreon (28).

In 1829, Miguel García of Jemez reported that Navajos had stolen 130 sheep from Francisco Sandoval of that jurisdiction, and that they had been pursued to Mesa Azul, Rincón del Vizente, and San Lucas (there being rancherias at the last two places), but the sheep had been taken beyond to Carrizo (29). Mesa Azul and Rincón del Vizente were undoubtedly in the Chacra Mesa area, although San Lucas was well to the south. Carrizo probably refers to the Carrizo Mountain area, although almost any place where reeds grew might have had the name.

One account, probably based on Navajo tradition, places the battle in which Blas de Hinojos' troops were routed by the Navajos in 1835 at the Big Bend of the Chaco (30), but earlier reports are quite specific in locating this battle in Washington Pass (31a-31c). This is only one of many expeditions that are known but are so poorly documented in surviving archival collections that it may only be said that they might have passed through Chaco Canyon. The engagement of which Mrs. Newcomb learned may have been the Hinojos incident misplaced or something entirely different. Only new archival discoveries and better recording of Navajo tradition are likely to resolve the matter.

By 1840, the Spanish name had already been applied to Pueblo Bonito. Josiah Gregg could later refer to it in his Commerce of the Prairies (32), his last visit to New Mexico having been in that year (33).

Following the war of 1840, in January of 1841, the Navajo headman, Narbona, leading 30 men and some women, stopped at "Mesita Azul" while awaiting word as to whether he could safely proceed into Spanish territory to conduct negotiations (34).

Although not datable with precision, the memories of Hastiin Beyal, who was interviewed by Neil Judd in 1927, indicate that his family moved from the Bears Ears area in southern Utah to the Chaco region about 1841 or 1842. He was then a boy nine or 10 years old, and his family possessed only five or six sheep and a few horses. At that time there was abundant game and more luxuriant vegetation in the Chaco country. Beyal's family moved frequently, and the absence of any mention of farming in Judd's notes may indicate that the family did not engage in agriculture, or merely that Judd did not ask about that subject (35).

Again in 1845, Navajo raiders were pursued by the Mexicans to "the Mesas of Chaca"--this time all the way from Abiquiu (36a) (36b).

Shortly after the United States acquired New Mexico in 1849, Colonel John Macrae Washington led an expedition over very nearly the same route as Vizcarra. He had with him Lieutenant James H. Simpson of the Army Topographical Engineers, and two artists--the Kern brothers. Simpson's journal, supplemented by a diary kept by Richard Kern, along with the Kerns' drawings, produced the most detailed documentation of the Chaco region from the time of the Navajo wars. Simpson applied most of the names still used to the major pueblo ruins, learning them from Spanish-American and native guides. Preferable for purposes of archeological research are the early editions of his journal, which include most of the artwork produced by the Kerns (37), but the originals of the drawings in the National Archives are even more faithful representations, because the engravers took some liberties in producing the plates for publication. The modern reprint of the journal, edited by Frank McNitt (38), has fewer illustrations, but those from the drawings are copies of the originals in the National Archives set.

The Washington expedition did not encounter any Navajos until they were well west of Chaco Canyon, although they did think that they were observed earlier by Navajo spies (39). Any Navajo residents of the area were undoubtedly too few to wish an encounter with so large a body of enemies and thus kept out of sight. It seems likely that any trace of Navajo occupation within the canyon itself would have been noted, and it must be presumed that if Navajos were living in the region they were to be found on the mesas.

In 1853, Captain H. L. Kendrick--then commanding officer at Fort Defiance--in assessing the temper of the Navajos at the time reported that the Navajos who were causing trouble were "a few bad and irresponsible men living near the mesa of Chaco, the Oso, and in the vicinity of Chuska" (40).

Again in 1857, the destination of Navajos pursued by New Mexicans was Chaco Canyon. The pursuers turned back from "Cañon de Chacos" because of their small force, but whether they were opposed there by a Navajo force or merely lost courage at that point is not recorded (41a) (41b).

A fragile peace had reigned during the mid-1850's, but once hostilities resumed, armed parties began again to use the Chaco as a route into the center of the Navajo country. During the Miles campaign of 1858, Major Electus Backus was assigned command of the second column of the expedition, which consisted of 400 men and a wagon train of supplies. This segment of the troops was to rendezvous at Jemez on October 15, and march to contact Lieutenant Colonel D. S. Miles at Tunicha (42). Backus led his command by way of San Ysidro to the Puerco, thence to the Chaco and along it to within 2 miles of Ojo Caliente--modern Tocito--where he joined Miles at a place he called "Tunichay" on November 2. No Navajos were seen until the day before the columns united. The only signs of life reported in the "Cañon de Chaco" were the tracks of five cattle that had been driven through the canyon some 5 days ahead of the troops, presumably by Navajos (43). The wagon train, under the command of Captain Sykes, lagged behind due to the bad roads, but arrived the next day. After unloading the supplies, Sykes returned eastward with the wagons (44), and seems to have followed the same route back that he had taken on his outward journey. Included in Major Backus' column were companies of the mounted rifles and of the 3d Infantry (45). Inscriptions near Chetro Ketl aid in dating these passages through the canyon. Two men with the mounted rifles left their names with a date of October 30, 1858, recording a stop on the way west. In addition, four or possibly five names in another cluster nearby are dated November 7, 1858, and all seem to have been members of the 3d Infantry. These have associated artwork depicting a cannon, a church, and similar non-Indian subjects. The first two inscriptions might have been with either Backus or Sykes, but the later ones were undoubtedly left by men on the return trip with the wagons.

Following the hostilities of that year, the treaty of December 25, 1858, assigned an eastern boundary to the Navajo Tribe, the line running from "the Piscada Spring which forms the head of the Zuni River, thence on a direct line to Bear Spring on the road from Albuquerque to Fort Defiance; thence on a direct line to the Pueblo, or ruins of Escondido on the Chaco, thence on a direct line to the junction of the Chaco--otherwise known as the Tunicha--with the San Juan" (46).

The Miles campaign did not result in a decisive defeat of the Tribe, but did sufficient damage that the Navajos found themselves sharply divided as to whether they should pursue a

policy of peace or war toward the whites. During the brief respite between wars, a report by the Ute agent at Abiquiu included an interesting mention of the Chaco region, as given to him by the Ute chief, Delgarito (47):

. . . The rich Navajoes, who are few, want peace, but all the poor who live in Chelle, Tchusca & Tchacco want war and as they say they want to steal all the Animals from the Mexicans as soon as they get in good condition. Tchusca is only five days easy travel from here & Tchacco from two to three days & a tolerable road.

The last hostile expedition known to have followed a part of the old trail of Vizcarra was a group of privateers who set out in 1860 during the Canby campaign. According to the journal of one citizen in the group, they set out from San Ysidro between Jemez and Zia on September 25, marching by way of the Ojo del Espíritu Santo to Torreon, where they camped on the 27th. The next night's camp was on the Continental Divide after a march of 10 miles. The following day they saw Pueblo Pintado, and the diarist, Marquis Lafayette Cotton, wrote the following rather inaccurate description (48):

. . . Passed the ruins of an old Pueblo situated on a hill, at the head of Raton Canon. Could hear no tradition regarding it. It is built in a square of about 250 feet of lime-stone rock, blocks about 2 feet in length and breadth, and from 1 to 2 inches thickness -- mud used for mortar. The walls on the outside were as smooth and regular as the best masons of the present day could possibly make them. The whole walls (four altogether) were about 30 feet through, making three rooms, each partition carried to the same height as the outer walls. They are now about 20 feet high in places, and were probably divided into 3 or 4 storries (sic). There is every appearance of having been a running stream by it; but there is no permanent water.

The total day's march was 22 miles, and the location of the camp that night is not specified. The expedition then left the Chaco, cutting across the mesa to the "Escarbada" at a distance of 12 miles, and seeing only the ruins of one small pueblo in Raton Canyon. They got water at the Escavada by digging in the bed of the wash. The next day's march was a long 60 miles without water, apparently a straight route over the mesa north of the canyon to the foot of the mountains (48).

Lieutenant Colonel Ed. R. S. Canby, in marching to Fort Defiance to initiate this campaign against the Navajos, proposed to go by way of the Chaco (49), but if he did so he did not encounter the privateers, and no description of his own march has been found.

Few of these expeditions encountered Navajos in the canyon itself, and the Navajo rancherias reported seem to have been on Chacra Mesa or about its base. If there were Navajo hogans or fields within the canyon, they were either so few as to remain unreported--which seems unlikely, at least in reports as detailed as that written by Simpson--or well concealed in rincons along the sides of the canyon.

Later troop movements, during the Carson campaign and the Fort Sumner exile, 1863-1868, seem to have neglected the Chaco route, perhaps because the earlier expeditions had failed to encounter Navajos there, but probably also because the route west from Albuquerque had been developed into an easier road.

Navajo tradition at Pueblo Pintado, however, tells of several families who hid in the small canyons along the north flank of Chacra Mesa for some time until the Army sent wagons to carry them off to captivity.

To the north and west, a small band of Navajos who had fled Fort Sumner early in the period of exile hid out successfully on the Escavada. One of these was Hastiin Biyal, who had spent a part of his childhood in the region (50). However, settlement seems to have been sparse during these war years. There is one Navajo tradition of Jemez raiders who crossed the open country south of the canyon to steal horses from the Navajos at the foot of the mountains to the west. They made their way back as far as the rounded saddle-shaped hill about 3 miles southwest of Fajada Butte. Here they stopped to rest, letting the stolen horses graze in the open. Non-local Navajos from the mountains caught them sleeping, killed them, and recovered their horses. The date is quite uncertain, but some time in the 1850's or 1860's seems most likely.

CULTURE

Navajo culture underwent great change during the period from the time of first contact until the Fort Sumner exile, by which time it had become very much what we consider "traditional" Navajo culture today. Descriptions at three time levels supply most of what we know from historical sources for the Spanish-Colonial Period.

The earliest extended descriptions are those written by Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1630 (51) and 1634 (52), which were based on his observations and reports heard in New Mexico during the years 1625 to 1629. He described the Navajos as occupying a territory to the west of the Rio Grande from the country of Xila Apaches on the south to that of the Apaches of Quinía on the north, a distance of some 50 or 60 leagues, or about 125 to 150 miles, and extending westward as far as Spanish knowledge of the country reached. This would certainly seem to encompass the Chaco region, although just what Navajo occupation of this section might have meant is far from certain. Thus far, no archeological sites attributable to this early period have been found in or near the canyon. The Tribe must have been populous, even allowing for the obvious exaggerations of the soldiers who fought against it, whom Fray Alonso quotes quite uncritically (53a) (53b). The Navajo Apaches already practiced agriculture, and were even described as "very skillful farmers." However, they were not constantly settled in one place, but would at times move considerable distances for hunting. They were capable of assembling large numbers of warriors to resist invasions of their lands, and mounted expeditions against their neighbors when they believed they had wrongs to avenge (54). Political organization included a Tribal chief, or cacique, and a separate leader who was a war chief (55a) (55b). However, there were numerous "captains" (56), probably headmen of local groups of less than band size, suggesting that a small subdivision such as the outfit (57) may already have existed. None of these leaders may be presumed to have possessed coercive powers, and it is most probable that they led through the use of prestige, persuasion, example, and generosity.

Settlement was in "rancherías" (58) or "villages" (59), which were scattered throughout their country, although more numerous in some parts than others (60). Dwellings were described as "underground" (61), which is usually taken to mean merely that they were covered with earth, not that they were subterranean. They also built "a certain kind of hut" for storing their harvests (62). The hut is described in Spanish as a jacal (63). The crops raised are not specified, but undoubtedly at least included corn, pumpkins, and beans. The only Navajo weapons mentioned are bows and arrows (64).

Benavides failed to mention any diffusion of European cultural elements aside from his own mission efforts. However, the Navajos were said to have some rancherías relatively close to Santa Clara, and Spanish colonists had been among the Tewas since 1598, so that some contact would be expected. Navajo-Pueblo trade, as well as war, is implied in his account. The leader of the Tewa delegation that Benavides sent out to make

peace with the Navajos spoke their language, and his contact with the Navajos was through a highly ritualized process involving the use of an arrow tipped with a feather as a symbol of peace, and the smoking of a reed cigarette--a ritual with which both tribes seem to have been thoroughly familiar (65). The making of peace was followed later by a trade fair at Santa Clara to which the Navajos brought buckskins and rock alum for exchange (66). Benavides mentions only the use of days and lunar months for the reckoning of time (67), but it is probable that seasons and years were also used, for Benavides' contacts with the Tribe seem to have been of such short duration that there was no occasion to make use of longer time periods.

The missionaries' efforts are a subject of considerable interest because of the light they shed on the Navajo outlook. The priests' motives need no explanation, other than to note that Benavides, in his fervor to save souls, or perhaps in his ambition to add another tribe to his credit, seems to have neglected to inform the Navajos that to become Christians they must not only give allegiance to the Christian God, but also to the Spanish King. Nor does he appear to have made arrangements with the civil authorities to follow up his conversions or to have actually performed any baptisms.

The Navajos were eager to learn about the new religion, and probably thought that it would give them access to some of the power and material wealth controlled by the Spaniards, such as livestock, metals, firearms, and cures for newly introduced diseases. They may have viewed the Christian ritual in terms of their own religious practices, and have thought that some of their people could learn the ceremonies and perform them for the Tribe's benefit. In addition to Benavides' personal efforts at Santa Clara, Fray Martín de Arvide at Jemez was sent to preach to the Navajos (68), which he did "at the extreme end" of the province (69) in "the same region--where the blessed father Fray Francisco de Porras, performed the miracle of giving sight to the blind boy" (70). This incident took place at Hopi (71), so that the entry of Navajo country from Jemez at this time is not necessarily indicative of Navajo occupation immediately to the west of Arvide's mission, but his experiences do add another dimension to the religious interest of the Navajos. He reported that the Navajos had experienced visions of a Spanish nun which inclined them to be receptive to his words (72). By the 1620's, the Navajos had already suffered warfare with the Spaniards, and undoubtedly epidemics of introduced Old World diseases such as smallpox as well. Visions that might lead to attempts to find supernatural solutions to these two threats would not have been unlikely.

Although there are occasional references through the intervening years that add bits and pieces to our knowledge of Navajo history, such as the mention of large ceremonial gatherings in the 1650's (73), the first definite mention of Navajo acquisition of horses from the Spaniards in 1653 (74), and the suggestion that they were keeping horses in 1678 (75), we know little in detail, and there are no further general descriptions until the 18th century. Of these, the best for the early part of the century are the Rabal documents--the testimonies of New Mexicans who had contact with the Tribe as members of campaigns and exploring expeditions during the period between 1706 and 1743 (76). This was well after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and the presence of Pueblo refugees from the Reconquest had greatly altered the way of life in the Provincia de Nabajo. The Navajos are described as living in rancherias and in houses of stone, wood, and mud (77). The "houses" were almost certainly a reference to the pueblitos so well known from archeological research in remains of this period. Crops included not only corn, beans, and pumpkins (78), but also watermelons (79), and possibly some cotton (80). Most agriculture was by dry farming (temporal, translated in Hill as "seasonal"), but some vegetables were irrigated (81). Underground storage structures were utilized (82), probably very much like the storage pits described in the ethnographic literature (83). Small earthen dams were built to retain runoff for drinking purposes (84). Livestock included horses, sheep, probably goats (85), and some cattle (86). The men dressed in buckskin and the women in wool (87). Goods traded to the Pueblos included buckskin, woven cloth, and basketry (88).

Various other documents fill in some details. Early in the century, Navajos still on occasion camped close to Santa Clara, their weapons were arrows, and they had a "song of war" that they used in battle (89). Refugees among the Navajos included Jemez and Tanos (90). Political leadership still involved many "captains," and one major captain named Perlaja. Goods received from the Spaniards upon making peace included cloth, bayeta, knives, tobacco, ribbons, beads, bison hides, and needles. Arts included painting on buckskin; time was counted by lunar months (91) (92). The list of crops can be expanded to definitely include cotton and chili. A description of their country would include the Chaco region, although only frontier locations are specified (93) (94). A slightly later list of Spanish goods given Navajo emissaries includes rosaries and hats (95) (96). It should be kept in mind that gifts selected by Spanish officials for presentation to peace delegations would not necessarily be the same kinds of things that the Navajos sought when trading within the colony, but they at least provide some indication of the sorts of goods that did move through Spanish hands to at least some Navajos.

The sign of peace now used to establish a truce, at least when dealing with the Spaniards, was the cross (97) (98). On one occasion, at least the reason given for declaring war on the Spaniards was a smallpox epidemic (99) (100)--a fact indicative of a belief in witchcraft.

An effort to convert the Navajos in the 1740's augments our data somewhat. The first indications of a matrilineal clan system appear in the priests' accounts of their visits to Navajo country (101). The flow of goods to the Navajos as gifts from the priests during their energetic attempts at conversion provides long lists of items that the Indians would at least accept, some with obvious value to them, and others that they may have merely taken out of courtesy to their visitors. These include hoes, needles, tobacco, rosaries, glass beads, necklaces, ribbon, scarlet capes, crosses, medals, bells, elk skins, caps, false pearls, garnets, and sugar (102). Reeve also lists Christian relics, but as these seem very unlikely things to give to non-Christians, even potential converts, it is more likely that small boxes or chests such as were used to keep relics, among other things, were the actual gifts.

This period of peaceful relations between whites and Navajos also supplies a somewhat ambiguous note on the practice of polygyny by the latter. Bishop Tamarón, during his inspection of the missions of New Mexico in 1760, encountered an elderly headman who had been baptized, and reported (103):

Their captain, Tadeo, who is a Christian and roams with them, is now an old man and, they say, a great rogue, for he has three infidel wives. He confessed to me that he had one. I asked him whether the Church had given her to him, and he was silent.

A rare view of clandestine trade between New Mexico and the Navajo province is provided by the testimony on the case of Miguel Tafolla, a half-Indian peon, who, upon finding himself in too much trouble among the Spaniards, sought refuge among the Navajos, but was apprehended and lodged in jail. Tafolla's principal wares in his commerce were stolen horses and sheep and the meat of stolen cattle. In return, he received mantas, buckskins, blankets, hospitality, and possibly a Navajo wife, although the testimony relating to this last point is especially contradictory. Even his accusers stated that he returned to New Mexico to take his own wife to Navajo country--an undertaking that brought about his downfall, for in so doing he left behind in the colony his partner in crime, a genízaro servant named Carlos García. García's resentment at being thus abandoned led to disclosure of their crimes. It is of interest to note

that when Tafolla was arrested and returned from his Navajo refuge, no mention was made of his wife, who would appear to have been left among the Navajos (104-108).

A single document, the report of Vicente Troncoso to Fernando de la Concha, dated April 12, 1788, and describing his journey to return the Navajo headman Antonio el Pinto to his home near Big Bead Mesa, provides the only comprehensive description of Navajo culture in the latter part of the century (109). El Pinto's return was to his mother's home, a strong indication of matrilocality. The homesite was on the slope of the mountain, and consisted of five "houses," one of which was described as being built of earth and wood and resembling a campaign tent with a square vestibule at the entry. This almost certainly was a forked-pole hogan. Another was a ramada. Foods offered the Spanish visitors included cooked milk, mutton, "well seasoned" cooked meat, and a variety of cornbread. Troncoso listed the Navajo diet as consisting of mutton, milk, corn, chili, other vegetables, and flour of corn and wheat ground by the women and used to make atole, tortillas, piki bread, and sweet bread. Livestock included sheep, goats, some cattle, and some horses. Deer were hunted when fat. Crafts included the making of buckskin, and weaving, the latter providing serapes, blankets, wraps, cotton cloth, coarse cloth, sashes, and "other things." Coiled baskets, or "xicaras that are called 'Navajo,'" were of exceptionally high quality. Most of these items were for trade as well as home use. Troncoso was not supplied for trade, but felt obliged to make gifts in return for those presented, and gave cigarettes, sugar, and promises of Spanish clothing as rewards for certain services.

Troncoso described the dress of the men as consisting of pants, shirts, shoes (probably moccasins), and in some cases jackets, capes, and hats. The women wore a dress made of two blankets of black wool with colored borders, with the arms left bare. They were well-adorned with coral, glass beads, and shell, and had their hair done in a roll or knot formed over scarlet or cochineal cloth. The description of the dress implies that a sash was also employed.

Troncoso noted that the Navajos had "some ideas of religion," which he attributed to the influence of the apostates among them. Because few, if any, of the Pueblo refugees can be expected to have been alive at this late date, he undoubtedly had the temporary converts of the 1740's in mind.

Troncoso commented on the high station of women, saying, "They endow their women with more than they ought," and observed that they did not marry until they were 18 or 20 years of age.

He complimented the Navajos for good sexual morality, both before and after marriage, and for strict observance of debts.

Troncoso's observations on political structure were limited, but he noted that Antonio el Pinto was feared and respected and that he seemed to exercise authority over the lesser captains, as well as over the two Navajos whom the Spaniards had appointed as "general" and "lieutenant" to rule the Tribe. Obviously the native system was strong; Spanish efforts to control the Tribe through puppet leaders was having no effect. El Pinto's return was an occasion for an informal gathering attended by headmen from all nearby Navajo settlements, with the young people and women gathered about the hogan in which the meeting was held. Troncoso was given "the seat of honor," probably at the rear of the structure, and long speeches were made by Troncoso, the Navajo "general," and el Pinto.

Troncoso attributed the good qualities of the Navajos to Spanish influence and felt that the two peoples were much alike in many respects--certainly a good frame of mind to be in while cementing an alliance. In order to increase trade he proposed that dyed Spanish yarns be provided so that woven products would be more colorful and sell for a better price. It is not known whether this suggestion was implemented, but later data suggest that it was, eventually if not immediately.

The matter of stone buildings in use by the Navajos is of such significance that it requires further detail. It was reported that, in 1788, Antonio el Pinto directed the construction of 10 stone towers or forts for defense from Gila Apache attacks (110) (111). There are as yet no tree-ring dates that would help identify these structures, and it is possible that fortifications used earlier were merely renovated at this time, but further research is needed. In any case, in 1791 it was said of the Navajos that "each has his little house or jacal with a tower of stone in its vicinity that serves them to keep their grain and for the security of their families in case of being attacked by the enemies" (112). Again in 1793 there was mention of the Navajos' defensive towers (113). Even as late as 1824, Samuel Patton described the Navajos as having stone houses, including some of two stories. Patton's description shows little change from that given by Troncoso, but he does mention the cultivation of tobacco and peaches in addition to other crops; the use of brilliant colors in weaving, and silver jewelry, both perhaps obtained from New Mexico; and the manufacture of bridles. He repeated two traits that have been questioned on the basis of more recent observations--the cultivation of cotton, and the manufacture of baskets. He also stated that the hair styles of maidens and matrons were different (114). This description, written not long after the beginnings of the period of intense

warfare inaugurated by Melgares' first war of 1818 and based at least in part on second-hand reports, may reflect a slightly earlier condition. Changes brought about, or perhaps merely accelerated, by the more frequent wars with the whites during the 19th century would not yet have been recognized. Certainly the general similarity of the descriptions of Troncoso and Patton suggest relatively minor changes over a period of some three decades. The use of silver, first mentioned in 1795 (115), was probably the only new item; the others were very likely merely omitted by Troncoso due to lack of knowledge or a desire not to write too lengthy a report.

Two especially significant introductions should be noted. Some trade for alcoholic beverages was probably already underway (116), but just when it began among the Navajos is not known. One Governor in 1802 was including wine in the hospitality he extended to chiefs, probably including Navajo leaders, as a means of loosening their tongues (117). Early settlements such as Cubero and Cebolleta could, and probably did, supply nearby Navajos at a relatively early date. Backus (118) states that only Navajos who had visited these settlements asked for "ardent spirits" of whites. However, as late as 1853, a delegation of 104 Navajos visited Santa Fe without so much as asking for "a drop of spirits" (119). Another change was the introduction of metal-working. While Navajos probably worked any pieces of metal that they could obtain from the Spaniards by techniques derived from their work with stone and bone, true smithing that took full advantage of the unique properties of metal is thought to have begun relatively late, but probably by 1840 (120). In 1855, Agent H. L. Dodge could report that there were already "eighteen native blacksmiths who work with the hand bellows and the primitive tools used by the Mexicans with which they make all of the bridle bits, rings, buckles, etc." (121).

Many items of material culture and more of a non-material nature are not documented in the historical record, or so briefly noted as to be of little use for cultural reconstruction. There are rare citations relating to gathering, particularly in the reports of military expeditions, which tell little except that the Navajos did make use of various well-known plants for foods. There appears to have been no real recognition of witchcraft until the Fort Sumner confinement (122), and no real recognition of the rich ceremonial lore of the Tribe at all until much later. No description of any cultural item can safely be taken as indicative of its earliest appearance, for even the most detailed accounts are far from exhaustive, and many items are noted only incidentally as they happened to pertain to matters of greater interest to white observers. In addition, general descriptions of the Apachean tribes usually include the Navajos in such a way that many traits and complexes that may or may not have applied to all the tribes are indicated

as general practices. A complete survey of the archival sources and literature is not presented here, but only selected observations that may be pertinent to the interpretation of Navajo archeological remains.

One event that may have had influence on Navajo material culture in about 1800 received some notice in the Spanish documentation. In that year, a large party of Plains Indians, including Pananas (Pawnees), Caiguas (Kiwias), Abajos (Arapahos ?), and Aás (the last probably a Plains Apache group, but so little known that they cannot be identified with certainty) appeared on the northern borders of New Mexico, and made an attack in the Abiquiu jurisdiction (123). The Spaniards collectively called these tribes, and possibly others, "las naciones del norte" (the nations of the north). The northerners returned in 1801. The official Navajo interpreter brought in a report that they were intent on establishing friendship with the Navajos and Jicarillas because they considered themselves "one people and speak their own language" and retained "the tradition that when the Comanches took over the land that they occupy, they entered between the Navajo and (Jicarilla ?) bands and divided them" (124). Obviously, the nations of the north did include Athabaskan-speaking peoples, perhaps the Kiowa Apaches, and the Aás are the only ones listed whose language is not known to have been something else.

What sort of contact took place at this time is not recorded, but the introduction of at least one Plains trait--the decoration of pottery vessel necks and lips in a distinctive manner--may be a result of these visits, for the dates of the two events seem to coincide. While the use of decorated rims and necks on Navajo utility wares may appear earlier, this decoration is at most extremely rare until about 1800, when it became the usual custom.

Cultural changes during the period of final and more intensive warfare, 1818 to 1868, may be safely assumed to have been adaptive to this new state of affairs. Some changes, such as the complete abandonment of the pueblito-style architecture, may easily be related to differences in tactical usage required for defense against white marauders from those imposed by intertribal warfare. Losses of traits associated with the more sedentary life that was possible before this period, and shifts in emphasis, with less reliance on agriculture and greater dependence on livestock, hunting, and wild plants, seem to be indicated. Responses to military disasters did not differ, in some respects, from responses to natural disasters. If a crop were destroyed, whether by drought or enemies, the effects were the same insofar as economic resources were concerned. On the other hand, political organization must have been profoundly influenced in a way that purely economic problems could not have caused. A Tribal assembly for making major policy decisions survived from earlier times (125).

Most clearly apparent in the historical sources is the effect on trade. The Navajos' efforts in the early years of Mexican independence to gain a share of the trade over the Santa Fe Trail that gave the New Mexicans a new military superiority appear in some early accounts. This effort undoubtedly explains the otherwise-perplexing circumstance in the Pattie narrative of an Anglo trapping party's very amicable relations with the Tribe in 1826 after repeated hostile encounters with other tribes throughout the Colorado drainage (126). But 4 years earlier, a Navajo had approached an Anglo trader in Santa Fe, trying to entice him to Navajo country with stories of beaver to be had and offering to trade horses and mules for powder, lead, and tobacco (127). Navajo raiders during the period seemed to value as loot items that they must formerly have obtained more easily by barter, with axes especially desired (128-131).

Trade became somewhat freer under United States rule, and in addition there were some distributions of gifts to the Tribe that provided significant quantities of manufactured goods. At the making of peace at Jemez in 1851, Agent Calhoun distributed treaty goods worth \$2,000 to \$3,000 (132). John Ward later mentioned that these gifts included a few hoes, hatchets, sickles, and axes (133), and a delegation to Santa Fe in 1854 received some farming tools (134). A distribution of 150 hoes and 12 axes took place in the spring of 1855 (135). A major distribution was again made at the time of the treaty of 1855, and included cloth, indigo, knives, tobacco, and probably other things (136). The agent's annual report for the year noted that they had been given plows--probably at the treaty-signing, although this is not explicitly stated (137).

Distributions of presents to the Navajos by the Government tended to emphasize tools and materials that would encourage agriculture and industry. Arms had to be obtained through itinerant traders, in some cases Mormons traveling from Utah (138). The irregularity and arbitrary scheduling of gift-giving by the Government, even if on a scale that satisfied some demands, undoubtedly left plenty of room for private enterprise. However, warfare and fear of war so often disrupted these contacts that a general paucity of Euro-American goods may be postulated.

General descriptions of the Navajos during the early period of Anglo-American rule in New Mexico are often quite superficial, and appear to be based in large part on second-hand information. Typical is Charles Bent's account in 1846, which mentions the usual subjects, such as Tribal wealth in horses, mules, sheep, and cattle; cultivation of grains and fruit; weaving; and warfare. They were said to live in permanent "villages," and to be acquainted with the use of money (139). However, first-hand

accounts of visitors to Navajo country are numerous, and provide many details of interest. Dwellings are usually described in general terms such as "lodges" or huts," but the fact that these were sometimes used as firewood by troops (140) is indicative of wooden structures in most cases. Simpson did describe a "conical pole, brush, and mud lodge," which is clearly the forked-pole hogan, and quoted an informant who had been a captive among the Navajos to the effect that this was their only style of habitation, further noting that these dwellings were scattered, not clustered in villages (141). Major Electus Backus noted the use of stones as well as soil to cover the spaces between the "sticks" used for wooden hogans, apparently with reference to forked-pole hogans (142). A very few rare observations do indicate that other types of hogans were also in use. Rice (143), referring to observations made in 1851, presents the only early description I have found of the cribbed-log style:

These huts are comprised of the green bows of the abounding piñon tree, piled one bough on top of another in a circle similar to a pig pen, with a gap in the front to go in and out at and continuing to carry up three or four feet high, and a slight bough roof, with a small fire in its front to keep the wolves and other wild animals out. It is the only refuge they have and (they) will lay down at night and quietly sleep without the least trouble of mind or danger of being molested.

Although published as a journal, Rice's account appears to more likely be a description written in his later years, based on memory refreshed by the use of a less detailed journal, copies of letters he wrote to relatives while in Navajo country, and sketches he made while there. Thus, some inaccuracy is to be expected. It is significant, however, that the only kind of hogan he remembered was a simple version of the cribbed-log structure.

Equally puzzling is the rare mention of stone hogans, with, again, only one description having come to light (144):

. . . Pass a great number of Indian (Navajo) camps; they are mostly round, built of rock, are about eight feet in diameter, four feet high, and are covered with poles and dirt. These camps are not their residing places, but merely retreats in case of storms, when they have their flocks in the neighborhood.

This description was written in 1846 by Jacob S. Robinson, while he was northwest of Mount Taylor. Again, the structures

described are small and simple, and the reported use as sheep-camps seems reasonable. That this was the only use of stone hogans at this time cannot be assumed as conclusively shown by his brief mention based on a few days spent among the Navajos. Robinson's observations, however, are among the more detailed of the early descriptions, and in those matters where he can be safely assumed to be writing about what he actually saw they may be accepted as accurate.

Dress at this time was not greatly standardized. Blankets are usually mentioned, but considerable variety is suggested by the drawings that illustrate various accounts. Robinson's description, preceding any significant trade with Anglo-Americans, is especially valuable. He described the well-known caps that were apparently so popular at the time as being of "panther skin" and decorated with eagle feathers (145). He also mentioned buckskin shirts (146) and blankets of various kinds: "fine figured" (147), scarlet, and especially contrasting "fine blankets of many colors" with a "common blanket" with "stripes of blue, black, and white" (148). The former he also referred to as "fine party-colored blankets," and as "the variegated blanket or poncho" (149). Regarding women's dress, he made special mention of wraparound legging moccasins, "brass rings upon their arms" (150), and beads (151).

Simpson (152), a few years later, also commented on "helmet-shaped caps" with eagle feathers (153), as well as on brightly colored clothing in red, blue, and white (154). Individualized costumes included that of a man wearing only a breechclout and a "whitewash" (155), probably painted with white clay for some ceremonial role, and that of the headman at Chinle who wore (156)

. . . a sky-blue blanket great coat, apparently of American manufacture and not unlike my own; a Tarpaulin hat of rather narrow brim and semi-spherical crown; buckskin leggins and moccasins; bow and quiver slung about him; a pouch and knife at his side. . . .

R. H. Kern's drawing of the same man, Mariano Martinez, done on the day following Simpson's written description, shows a brim on his hat that was certainly not narrow by present-day standards, a striped cloth used as a headband below the hat, and what appears to be a white shirt and a loosely tied necktie or kerchief worn under his great coat (157). It may well be that Martinez had acquired at least part of his clothing during the trading that took place during Robinson's visit. Other Navajos drawn by Kern show more traditional clothing. Both

Narbona (158) and Chapaton (159) are shown wearing striped blankets and what appear to be white cotton shirts. Chapaton's headgear is only a striped cloth headband with a much looser fit, with the ends merely tucked under, while Martinez' band is securely tied. Narbona wears a polka-dot cloth folded over his head so that it resembles a small turban. Chapaton has a double strap with buttons or studs for decoration over his left shoulder, probably for a pouch hung under his right arm. Their hair knots (except for Narbona who lacks one) are longer than those worn by Navajo men today, and appear to be wrapped with cloth or buckskin.

Backus' account notes the use of "domestic shirting" obtained in trade from itinerant merchants from the Rio Grande, and hats, moccasins, stockings, breeches of buckskin, shirts, and blankets as items of apparel (160). Letherman's generally derogatory description contains considerable detail that confirms other sources, and makes notes, as of 1856, of some items of dress not mentioned elsewhere for this period, including the use of baize (bayeta) for shirts, and silver concho belts (161).

Overall, the impression given by these descriptions of the early Anglo-American period is of considerable diversity in dress and strong early impact of Anglo trade items, especially for men.

The following tabulation of crops mentioned in four early general descriptions gives some idea of their relative importance during this period. Only wheat is over-represented, perhaps because of its importance to the observers.

	<u>Corn</u>	<u>Pumpkins</u>	<u>Melons</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Beans</u>	<u>Peaches</u>	<u>Misc.</u>
Robinson (1846), 1932	X	X					
Backus (1853) 1860	X		X	X	X	X	X
Eaton (1853), 1860	X	X	X	X			
Letherman, 1856	X	X					

Note that cotton is not mentioned. It is probable that the cultivation of this crop had lapsed long before the Mexican War. Corn and cucurbits--generally pumpkins or squash, but occasionally melons-- are the crops most regularly mentioned in Navajo oral tradition relating to this period (162), and appear to have been the mainstays of Navajo agriculture, with the cultivation of others being either on a very small scale or quite localized. Wheat and corn were planted in hills. Peaches were grown only at Canyon de Chelly and a few small canyons nearby

(163). The beginnings of the introduction of new crops by Government officials are in this period. Potatoes were first planted in 1855 (164), and an earlier observation of peas in cultivation (165) is probably the result of a similar introduction.

Livestock reported during these early years of Anglo-American administration include nearly the full range of larger domestic animals of Old World origin--sheep, goats, horses, mules, asses, and cattle are most commonly noted (166) (167). Smaller domestic species--poultry, pigs, cats, and dogs--are seldom mentioned, and may be presumed to have been absent or very rare, except for dogs, which were probably so taken for granted by observers as to not be considered worthy of notice.

Movement to various grazing areas according to the condition of the range is recorded (168) (169). In spite of the considerable attention early writers gave to Navajo weaving, they seem to have believed that sheep were raised primarily as a source of food, and two sources state that wool was not shorn (170) (171). Ten Broeck wrote that wool was obtained only when a sheep was killed for food (172), but it seems unlikely that wool shed in the spring would be allowed to go to waste, at least by those families that owned too few sheep to butcher one for food fairly regularly. A spindle with a conical wooden whorl was used to produce yarn (173) (174).

Goats were used for meat (175), and so undoubtedly were cattle. The milk was used for cheese (176) (177).

As might be expected among a group of observers who were all male and mostly military men, the most extended descriptions are those of the use of horses. The Navajos' skill as horsemen quickly impressed them. Robinson's account (178) was the most detailed, and commented on Navajo agility at mounting and dismounting, use of the lasso, skill at picking objects off the ground while riding at top speed, and the chasing of rabbits on horseback. Horse gear is described in the greatest detail by Letherman (179), who noted the use of a saddle much like that of the New Mexicans but with a short stirrup placed farther to the front than on the New Mexican saddle. His description of the bridle is particularly good:

. . . The bit of the bridle has a ring attached to it, through which the lower jaw is partly thrust, and a powerful pressure is exerted by this means when the reins are tightened. Hanging down beneath the lips are small pieces of steel attached to the bit, which jingle as they ride. The side and front parts generally consist of strings; sometimes made of leathers, and not infrequently ornamented with plates of pure silver. . . .

The description would seem to suggest that bridles and bits and silver decoration were all made by the Navajos themselves. Certainly they were making the iron bits, rings, and buckles required for their saddles and bridles by 1855 (180). With this degree of skill in metal-working, it is not unlikely that simple work in silver was also being accomplished. By the time of the Navajo exile at Fort Sumner, Navajo smiths were reported to be shoeing horses (181).

One critical observer considered Navajo horses to be of indifferent quality, and attributed this to methods of breeding whereby only the characteristics of the sire, and not those of mare, were considered (182). The use of horses for riding and hunting has been noted or implied by data given above. Horses were also used to transport goods packed in buckskin bags (183). In addition, both horses and mules were eaten, at least on occasion (184) (185). The rarity of such comments, however, suggests that horseflesh was not a standard item in the diet, but used only in times of need, because horses were important in other ways, including as a measure of wealth and prestige. Horses were the usual gift given (or "paid") to a bride's parents at the time of marriage (186-188), and were killed at funerals (189).

Hunting is implied by the frequent descriptions of buckskin used in dress (see above) and the listing of deer, antelope, rabbits, and prairie-dogs as items of diet (190), but the only contemporary description of a hunt is that of the rabbit-hunt mentioned by Robinson (191). Ten Broeck (192) considered game the preferred meat, even with sheep being killed only when it was not available.

Gathering was also an important economic endeavor, but in times of relative peace was little mentioned. The trading of pinyon nuts to the Lagunas in 1851 is mentioned (193). Other references are from military reports during the later Navajo wars. Twice, wild potatoes were noted, once in a statement that Navajo women were engaged in digging them in the Black Creek Valley (194), and once in 1864 as found in hastily abandoned camps near Mariano Lake (195). Another camp which was vacated when troops attacked was found to contain "some grass seed for eating" (196). Pinyon nuts were also important during this time of wars and crop destruction (197). General descriptions from this time period of the importance of wild plants are frequent, dating especially from the years of exile. Michael Steck, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico in the early 1860's, gave the longest lists of plants exploited by the Navajos in their home territory, including acorns, cedar (juniper) berries, cactus, soapweed (yucca), wild potatoes, cherries, currants, mesquite or agave, and mesquite (198) (199). Steck contrasted this

abundance with the alleged scarcity of these plants at Fort Summer for political purposes and, like many politicians, was none too careful of his facts. Mesquite, so common in the Fort Summer region that it became the Navajos' principal source of firewood after the cottonwoods were all cut, is so rare in Navajo country that one resident of Canyon de Chelly brought back a cutting to plant at his home. This single mesquite planting still survives, but has not been able to spread further in the canyon system in more than a century. Mesquite and agave are found only near the southern and western peripheries of Navajo country (200) (201).

In general it seems apparent that the sparsity of mention of hunting and gathering is not so much a measure of the relative importance of these activities as of a lack of knowledge on the part of the whites.

Pottery and basketry also received relatively little notice. Robinson (202) describes the use of the pottery drum, and contrasts the little pottery seen with baskets of "willow," which were woven in both bowl and jar forms and used for most water containers. Pottery was sufficiently uncommon that Letherman (203) asserted that they made none. Neither craft was noted by most observers.

Weapons were of interest to all who thought they might be called upon to fight the Tribe. Robinson (204) merely mentioned bows and lances in passing, as did Backus (205), who also observed that they had a few guns. Whipple, Eubank, and Turner (206) described a Navajo shield made of "bull hide," round with painted decoration and an edging of red cloth trimmed with feathers, which was owned by a Zuni. Letherman (207) gives the best description:

... They use the bow and arrow, and spear, and use them well. The bow is about four feet in length, and made of some kind of wood which is said not to grow in Navajo country, and is covered on the back with a kind of fibrous tissue. The arrow is about two feet long and pointed with iron. The spear is eight or ten feet in length, including the point, which is about eighteen inches long, and also made of iron. . . .

Letherman also commented on the scarcity of firearms, and the Navajos' lack of skill in their use, saying that most rifles were purchased in Utah.

Games described include the hoop and pole game (208) (209), dice (210) (211), the moccasin game (212), and horse racing (213).

Two kinds of cradleboards were in use. Robinson (214a) mentions "little willow baskets, made just long enough to contain the child when the cover is closed; these they fasten to their backs." This description does not match well any of the cradleboard types known from ethnographic descriptions, and is sufficiently unclear that it is uncertain just what kind of baby-container Robinson saw. Ten Broeck (214b) describes a cradle much like the two-piece style still in use, except that it was more elaborately decorated with "leather" fringe.

The high status of women in Navajo society was of as much interest to Anglo-American observers as it was to the Spanish-Americans at an earlier date, but the Anglos did not view this aspect of social structure so critically. Robinson (215) found the situation quite commendable:

The women of this tribe seem to have equal rights with the men, managing their own business and trading as they see fit; saddling their own horses, and letting their husbands saddle theirs.

. . . .

The women are treated by the men as equals, and they are undoubtedly the most enlightened tribe . . . inhabiting this continent.

Backus (216) observed that women had full status as free adults after marriage, and could divorce their husbands "for sufficient cause." Apparently being unaware of the usual matrilineal residence pattern, he phrased this in terms of the wife's right to leave her husband, rather than in terms of her right to tell him to leave. It was this right, he thought, that ensured the kindly treatment of wives and enabled them to escape from being forced to do all the "laborious work" that the women of "the northern tribes" had to do. Eaton (217) presented similar information. Letherman (218) again gives somewhat more detail, some of which hints strongly of the matrilineal social structure, but he obviously was not able to infer the significance of his data and also failed to note matrilineal residence:

The women, however, exert a great deal of influence--more than in the majority of Indian Tribes. They have entire charge of the children, and do not allow the father to correct his own offspring The husband has no control over the property of his wife, their herds being kept separate (sic) and distinct; from which, doubtless, arises the influence of the women not only in their own peculiar sphere, but also in

national matters, which it is well known they oftentimes exert. The wife is usually bought with horses, of her father--no ceremony that we are aware of being performed; and if upon trial she does not like her husband, she leaves him and there the matter ends. Polygamy is practiced by all who can afford to sustain more than one wife; but the women do not necessarily inhabit the same hut, or even live in the same neighborhood. Property does not descend from father to son, but goes to the nephew of the decedent, or, in default of a nephew, to the niece; so that the father may be rich, and upon his death his children become beggars; but if, while living, he distributes his property to his children, that disposition is recognized.

Beyond this, observations on social structure are few; the one use of the word "clan" (219) seems to refer actually to the band or outfit.

These early reporters were poorly equipped to recognize a Tribal religion as such. Letherman concluded that the Navajos had neither religion nor traditions (220), and Robinson, although having the opportunity to observe some dancing, did not really consider the subject. Eaton did give a brief account of such mythological motifs as the Emergence, Changing Woman, Monster Slayer, and the killing of the monsters (221). Ten Broeck (222) notes the Emergence and the Great Gambler episodes. He also refers to the San Francisco Peaks as being "the chief mountain," implying its sacred character (223). Backus (224) describes as sacred a spring near Fort Defiance where offerings were made from five bags of vegetable and mineral "substances, all differing in color," thus indicating not only the importance of sacred places, but the fact of color symbolism as a part of Navajo religious thought. Eaton (225) described curing as done by singing. Whipple, Eubank, and Turner (226) stated that singers "deal in roots, and songs, and incantation, blowing ashes and muttering spells upon the invalid." They also mentioned the use of altars of stones and sticks trimmed with feathers, and reported that the Navajos "venerated" bears.

Specific ceremonies are thus difficult to identify in these data. The dance observed by Robinson (227) was doubtless Enemyway, probably joined on the second night. It is possible that the "party of chosen Braves" who met the soldiers were the carriers of the Rattle-Stick, although this is quite uncertain. In any case, that night the visitors danced with the Navajos over the scalps of the Pueblos at a location where the Indians apparently gathered in a very temporary camp. The next day, the entire group--some 1,600 people, according to Robinson's estimate--

traveled to a more permanent camp, where the Navajos had herds of livestock, and where activities during the day included gambling games, rabbit-chasing, and dancing by men and women together to chanting accompanied by a pottery drum.

The date, in October, was late for Enemyway as practiced today, but it may be that any returning war party was treated thus regardless of the time of the year in former times. The man in a breechclout and covered by white clay that Simpson (228) observed in 1848 may have been a patient in Plumeway (229) who was still under the 4-day restrictions following the ceremony, although it is possible that similar body-painting was done in other ceremonies as well. The blowing of ashes mentioned by Whipple, Eubank, and Turner (230) is a common rite in many, if not most, exorcistic ceremonies, such as Shootingway and Evilway (231). Similarly, the altars described above might be merely the small altars set up before the entry of a hogan (232), or perhaps this refers to the elaborate Sun's House Screen used in one branch of Shootingway, although the latter would not include stones.

Political organization was obviously quite flexible, so much so that Letherman (233) characterized it as "anarchy," saying everyone with a little livestock was a headman. Even so, concerted Tribal action was possible, as evidenced by the major assault on Fort Defiance in April 1860 (234). The powers of leaders were severely limited, as Robinson's experience would show, when the chiefs tried with little success to prevent their followers from disturbing the Anglo-Americans in their camp (235). Backus (236) mentioned the prominence of the rich as leaders and the temporary authority of war leaders, as well as the absence of corporal punishment for theft. Eaton (237) ascribed influence to wealth and character, but reported that chiefs were "afraid to enforce a command, or exert any control over their respective bands." Tribal decisions were made at ceremonial gatherings of the entire Tribe or of most headmen (238) (239).

Perhaps most significant with regard to Tribal actions are not relations with the whites, where traditional methods were often ineffectual, but with other Indians. At the beginning of Anglo-American rule in the Southwest, Robinson (240) found that the Navajos and Zuni "claim to be brothers," and that the Zuni suffered loss of children and stock to New Mexicans, as the Navajos did. Trade existed between the two peoples, and the Zuni were reported to sell "considerable" corn to the Navajos (241). The Navajos relied on Hopi emissaries in early efforts to establish peace with the whites (242) (243). Even as early as the beginning of the Anglo-American period there was factionalism among the Navajos, which was based largely on differences of opinion with regard to relations with the whites (244), and it is probable that this faction

alism, as well as intra-pueblo factionalism, strongly influenced the confusingly variable Navajo-Pueblo relations of the time (245)

While this brief summary does not exhaust the data available from historical sources on Navajo culture through 1868, it does provide a basis for comparison in archeological investigations, as well as set the stage for the more detailed history possible for later years.

END NOTES

1. Reeve 1957:45.
2. Ibid.:45-46, no. 32.
3. Ibid.:46.
4. Tyler and Taylor 1958:303-304.
5. Hackett 1937, 3:300.
6. Vivian 1960:190.
- 7a. Reeve 1957:49.
- 7b. Vivian 1960:190.
- 8a. Reeve 1957:49.
- 8b. Vivian 1960:190.
9. Reeve 1957:50.
- 10a. Reeve 1957:50.
- 10b. Vivian 1960:191.
11. VanValkenburgh 1941:34-35.
12. Reeve 1958:229.
13. Certification of Bartolome Fernandez, 17 Feb 1768, NMSRCA, Microfilm 22, Report #96, File #170, 3.
14. Gov Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, 20 Jan 1768, NMSRCA, Microfilm 22, Report 96, File 170, 2-3.
15. E.g., Josephy 1961:130-131.
- 16a. Bandelier 1893:253.

- 16b. Pepper 1920:14.
- 16c. Lange and Riley 1970:160-162.
17. Chavez 1973:230.
18. Matson and Schroeder 1957:356.
19. Adams and Chavez 1956:218.
20. Diario de las Novedades ocurridos desde 10 de Abril hasta la fecha, 16 May 1804, p 2, NMSRCA.
21. McNitt 1964:35-38.
22. Diario ----, 16 May 1804, p 2, NMSRCA.
23. Carrol and Haggard 1942:133, n.
24. Montes to Melgares, 1 April 1819, NMSRCA.
25. Brugge 1965:18-19.
26. Armijo to Governor, 23 Oct 1821, NMSRCA, SA 3060.
27. Brugge 1964:227.
28. Ibid.:241.
29. Garcia to Arocha, Jemez, 7 Mar 1829, NMSRCA.
30. Newcomb 1964:13-16.
- 31a. McNitt 1964:78-79.
- 31b. Brugge 1966.
- 31c. McNitt 1972:73-74.
32. 1849:284-285.
33. Fulton 1941:19.
34. Sandoval to Miranda, 15 Jan 1841, NMSRCA.
35. Judd 1954:247, 343-347.
- 36a. Littell 1967, vol. 1:212.

- 36b. McNitt 1972:87.
- 37. Simpson 1850.
- 38. 1964.
- 39. McNitt 1964:59.
- 40. Kendrick to Sturgis, Ft. Defiance, 14 Jun 1853, NA, RWD, RG-98, DNM, LR, K-15/1853.
- 41a. Tenorio to Comandante de Armas, 13 Jan 1857, NA, RWD, RG-98, DNM, LR.
- 41b. Arragon to Governor, 14 Jan 1857, NA, RWD, RG-98, DNM, LR, V-604/1857 encl.
- 42. Bonneville to Backus, 3 Oct 1858, Senate Exec Doc 1, Serial 975, 35th Cong, 2d Sess:320-321.
- 43. Backus to Wilkins, 3 Nov 1858, NA, BIA, RG-75, NMS, LR, C-1802/1858 encl.
- 44. Miles to Wilkins, 15 Nov 1858, NA, RWD, RG-98, DNM, LR, M-87/1858.
- 45. Backus to Lane, 19 Nov 1858, Sen Exec Doc 2, Serial 1024, 36th Cong, 1st Sess:278-282.
- 46. NA, OIA, RG-75. NMS, LR, 6-42/1858.
- 47. Pfeiffer to Collins, 15 May 1859, NA, OIA, RG-75, NMS, LR, C 2087/1859 encl.
- 48. Cotton 1860.
- 49. Canby to Asst Adj Gen, 17 Sept 1860, NA, RWD, RG-98, LR, C 35a/1860.
- 50. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:220.
- 51. Forrestal and Lynch 1954.
- 52. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945.
- 53a. Ibid.:85.
- 53b. Forrestal and Lynch 1954:44-46.

- 54. Ibid.:45-46.
- 55a. Ibid.:45, 48.
- 55b. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:87.
- 56. Ibid.:87.
- 57. Kluckhohn and Leighton 1962:109-111.
- 58. Ibid.:87.
- 59. Forrestal and Lunch 1954:48.
- 60. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:85.
- 61. Forrestal and Lynch 1954:46.
- 62. Ibid.
- 63. Ayer, Hodge, and Lummis 1916:138.
- 64. Ibid.
- 65. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:86-87.
- 66. Forrestal and Lynch 1954:51.
- 67. Ibid.:51-52.
- 68. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:79.
- 69. Ibid.:89.
- 70. Ibid.:79.
- 71. Ibid.:76.
- 72. Ibid.:79, 88.
- 73. Reeve 1957:46.
- 74. Ibid.:45-46.
- 75. Ibid.:49.
- 76. Hill 1940:395-415.
- 77. Ibid.:409.

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Chapter 2

THE RETURN AND THE 1870's: ADAPTING TO CONQUEST

Within a short time after the return of the Navajos from Fort Sumner, Navajos who had lived in what was to become the checker-board area resettled their old homes. According to Henry C. (Chee) Dodge, "the bands of 'Inoetenito,' of 'Cabares Colorados,' and of 'Delgadito'" exclusively occupied the country within the Pueblo Bonito jurisdiction east of the reservation (1). This jurisdiction was a much wider area than the Chaco Canyon region itself, however.

The wars immediately preceding the Fort Sumner exile caused considerable dislocation of people. Navajo tradition, the only source on the matter, is ambiguous as to the precise locations of Navajo settlement prior to removal, as are many of the reports of tradition recorded in the past. Dodge's statement, given above, is very general in nature, and tells us nothing specific with regard to Chacra Mesa, Chaco Canyon, or Lake Valley, but the distribution of early settlement by the returnees does give some idea of probable earlier distribution.

At the negotiation of the final treaty between the Tribe and the United States, General W. T. Sherman told the Navajos that they must live on their reservation, but qualified this by saying that they could also settle on unoccupied land where they would be subject to the laws of the Country (2). The treaty was signed on June 1, and preparations to return the Navajos to their own country followed immediately (3). Fifty six-mule wagons were sent from Fort Union to aid in the transport, and the route was to be via San Jose, Tijeras Canyon, and Albuquerque, and thence to Fort Wingate (4).

The effects of the exile had been traumatic (5), and the Navajos had undoubtedly been ready to accept almost any conditions that would allow a return to their own country. However, the reservation was only a small part of their former territory, and families whose traditional land rights lay outside the reservation boundaries were soon to take advantage of Sherman's qualification with little understanding of what the conditions of such settlement might imply, for the traditional way of

Navajo life did not fit the usual white concepts of what constituted settlement. The potential for serious conflict to arise from the differing ways of life and the desires of both whites and Navajos to live on lands surrounding the reservation was not immediately apparent, for different agencies of the Government dealt with different aspects of the problem.

In July, Surveyor General of New Mexico John A. Clark made his recommendations to the Commissioner of the General Land Office (6):

Should this treaty be ratified the country on the San Juan river east of the reservation will be thrown open to settlement, and the public surveys should be extended over it at an early day.

Exactly when settlers began to move into the old Navajo domain is uncertain. There was no great land rush. Here and there a rancher or small farmer set up housekeeping around the edges, often on unsurveyed land and without benefit of written records. Other tribes were still at war, and trust in the Navajo peace was not yet strong.

One of the earliest settlements was undoubtedly that of San Mateo, on the northwest side of Mount Taylor. Spanish-Americans from Cebolleta located there as a group under the leadership of Román Antonio Baca, a wealthy stockman and former Indian fighter who had engaged in the trade in Navajo captives and held several Indians as servants. It has been suggested that Baca founded the colony in 1864 (7), but the conquest of the Navajos was still not complete, and settlement at this early a date would seem rash, if not foolhardy. In any case, the settlers were there by 1869 (8). A similarly early date, 1864, is claimed for the upper San Juan country by the descendants of Juanita Valdez de Lobato, but this is based on the date of the congressional act under which settlement was made (9), and the date of actual settlement could have been much later. Most, if not all, of the earliest intruders were Spanish-Americans, few of whom spoke English or had a good understanding of the Anglo-American requirements for legally documenting their claims to homesteads. Regardless of the exact dates, it seems well-established that they generally preceded the Anglo settlers in most portions of this frontier.

In August 1868, Navajo Agent Theodore H. Dodd, writing from Fort Wingate, stated in his annual report that he could not provide a census of the Tribe because many were "living with the Apache and Pueblo Indians, and running at large" (10). Dodd could report that Navajos were coming in daily, and later

reports indicate that some at least were settling at places well off the reservation and staying there.

One man in particular, whose history is most pertinent to the post-Fort Sumner Navajo occupation of Chaco Canyon, was George, whose name has been variously rendered as Navajo George, Old George, and Choge--the last an attempt to render in the English alphabet the Navajo pronunciation of his English name. He settled near a spring in what later became the southwest quarter of section 26, T21N, R10W, upon his return from Fort Sumner (11) (12). This location would be just south of Wijiji Ruin in the upper portion of Chaco Canyon, or more likely just south of the canyon near one of the small springs on the north flank of Chacra Mesa. Another who settled within the area was Juan Solles, whose mother brought him back from Fort Sumner when he was 5 years old. They located at Canyon Corral near Pueblo Pintado (13). How many families settled in the Chaco region immediately following the release from captivity is unknown, but it is not likely that these two were the only ones.

Times were still far from peaceful. In June, a party from Cubero and Cebolleta "engaged in a raid through the Navajo and Apache country, for the purpose of plundering the Indians" (14), and not long after, the Utes made a raid on the Navajos (15). The Navajos were quick to assert their own rights as they conceived them. Not far from the Chaco country, along the Rio Puerco of the East, Navajos declared they would not permit settlement by whites, and Francisco and Ignaz Perea removed a herd of sheep to the opposite side of the Rio Grande to avoid trouble (16). By December, Navajos were taking mules from whites at Bluewater, but Barboncito, the "chief" by Government decree, managed to recover all but one that had been eaten (17).

The difficulties of resettlement were eased to some degree by payments to the Tribe specified in the treaty. Dodd made an early order for tools in August, specifying "400 dozen strong hoes, 250 dozen wool cards, and 150 dozen large axes" (18). As winter approached, the need for rations was evident. One of the first purchases was 78,487 pounds of rice (19)--a food that may not have been well suited to Navajo cooking methods and taste. Good grazing during the year and a large pinyon crop also eased the resettlement (20). The winter proved a severe one, not only making life difficult for the Navajos, but also hindering efforts to assist them. An attempt to purchase sheep for distribution to the Tribe was temporarily thwarted by the weather, and then further delayed by lambing season (21-23).

By spring, the Navajos were reported to be doing well and to have planted some 2,000 to 3,000 acres (24). However, those close to the scene were aware of continuing problems. The commanding officer at Fort Wingate, Major A. W. Evans, warned of frequent thefts and some instances of "serious robberies of animals" by the Navajos, but he also noted the killing of a Navajo woman and child and the wounding of a man by settlers at McCarthy's Ranch above Cubero, which he blamed on Spanish-Americans. With regard to one robbery, he wrote (25):

Three animals stolen recently from Roman Baca of San Mateo, we hope to recover; but I mention the robbery because the Indians allege that it was done for the reason that Mr. Baca has one or more Navajo peons in his possession whom he refuses to release. This has been denied by Mr. Baca but I have reason to suspect that it may be true.

Evans' suspicions about the Spanish-Americans were not entirely justified in the case of the killing, which it was later learned involved a Mr. Miller, a rancher near "the crossing of the Gallo," in retaliation for the theft of some cattle. He was arrested by the Army and taken to Albuquerque (26).

General Sheridan had ordered that all Indians be considered hostile when off their reservations, and a proclamation by the Governor of New Mexico declared war on the Navajos. Major Evans was quick to protest, and in so doing set a precedent for the course of relations between the military at Fort Wingate and the off-reservation Navajos that would influence Government policy for many years. His explanation of circumstances was detailed, clear, and explicit (27):

The Division and Dist. Orders relating to the Navajo Indians were communicated by me to such principal chiefs as I found at this post. They were also sent to Maj. French, the agent at Ft. Defiance, with the request that he would do the same. I have reason to think that the larger part of the band and the head men now understand and acquiesce in them. The comparatively few bad men who are making the trouble will pay no more regard to them than they have done to similar warning given them by myself and the agent at the April council I have, as directed, permitted the Indians planting on (or near) this reservation (the military reservation of Fort Wingate) to remain;

also those working as servants &c. in private employment about this post. There is one very good man, named Mariano, who has a crop planted 30 miles east of the post, to whom, upon his personal application, after hearing the order, I gave permission to remain; and request sanction for this. But in view of the manner in which the people are scattered over the country, and of the authorization for so living understood to have been given them by Genl. Sherman, I would desire to be informed what are to be considered the well defined limits of their reservation? . . . At this present moment I should think that half the Navajoe nation is planting outside these limits. Certainly the greater part of the farms at Defiance are south of the post; many exist between here and Zuñi, in Tuni-Cha and Chusco; and on the San Juan. In all the western frontier settlements and pueblos are living many Navajoes, as I understand by the express permission of General Sherman. Are these people to be considered hostile within the meaning of the order?

. . . As I understand Genl. Sheridan's order the Indians upon their reservations are subject to their agents; and off their reservations to the military authorities. Nowhere do I find where the civil authorities have anything to do with them. I have always maintained that where depredations are committed upon settlements, the guilty parties might be rightfully followed and punished. The practice in this country has been to avenge upon the first met, whether innocent or guilty. It is difficult to see how peaceful relations can be preserved upon such a system. Since the return of the Navajoes to this country . . . there appears to be little doubt that the commencement of the troubles was upon the part of the Mexicans. I refer particularly to the murder and robbery of Indians near El Rito in Feb'y; and at the Romansos, by the people of McCarty's Ranche, about the first of May. It has been expressly because of these and others, and particularly the latter act, that the retaliatory raids of the Indians have been made. In the El Rito affair, Maj. French and myself after a great deal of trouble, and by sending an armed party down, succeeded in getting a great part of the stolen property back. I arrested the principal

men in the McCarty affair, but they escaped the guard. I subsequently arrested one of them, named Miller, who ventured to this post, and I now hold his horse as a pledge for the return of some of the stolen property. He was himself released because I understood that the Indians were satisfied. It is fortunate that the Navajoes do not require blood for blood; they require payment for blood. In both cases the citizens retaliated for alleged losses by theft upon innocent parties.

In view of the proclamation of the great liability to serious trouble under it, I venture to make the suggestion that for all purposes of intercourse with the Navajoe Indians their Reservation, for the present at least and until crops are gathered, be defined to be all that portion of the country usually occupied by that tribe lying west of a meridian passing thro' the summit of the San Mateo Mountain (Mt. Taylor); except the village of San Mateo, which lies N.W. of that Mt., and that all the citizens be notified not to encroach upon that country

. . . Employment can be given for 300 or 400 of them near this post in putting up hay for contractors, the Indians themselves being anxious so to work. It is possible that future employment might also be given them by the Q. M. Dept. here.

Evans' proposed de facto reservation would have had its eastern limits at about 107 degrees 36 minutes--the approximate longitude of the highest part of Mount Taylor. This would have taken in the Chaco Canyon region, but left out a large part of Chacra Mesa, with the line passing between Pueblo Pintado and Star Lake, but somewhat closer to the former. However, it is doubtful that Evans had any very good concept of just where the line would have run that far north of Mount Taylor.

Troubles continued along the southeastern frontier of the Tribe. About the end of August or beginning of September, a Spanish-American man, under the pretext of having sheep to trade, lured two Navajos with four horses and mules from their farms about 7 miles west of Cubero, and, once safely isolated, killed both and took their animals. Shortly after this, the people at Cubero drove the remaining Navajo farmers from their homes, stealing what they had in their hogans. Later in the

month, Spanish settlers killed another two Navajos at Canyon de Juan Tafolla, taking five horses and mules. In a Ute raid in the same month, two Navajos were killed and seven horses and three herds of sheep and goats lost at an unreported location. In December, a Navajo woman was killed near Cebolleta, and a girl was taken into captivity (28) (29).

By September, the headmen were making vigorous complaints to Agent F. T. Bennett (30):

They say that all past difficulties previous to going to Fort Sumner are forgotten, but since their return here, twelve Navajoes have been killed and only two white men. They claim that these men were peaceable good men, and demand that peaceable Navajos who are living off the reservation by permission be protected,

. . . I would respectfully state in my opinion a great many Mexicans are taking advantage of the recent proclamations and orders issued by Governors Mitchell & Pyle (sic) to kill and rob peaceable Navajoes, who are living and farming (by permission of the military authorities) on lands off from reservation. I have no doubt there are some Mexicans who think that the Indians should be driven out immediately, as the crops and improvements would then fall into the hands of the Mexicans,

This competition for land seems not have reached the Chaco region at this early date, but specific data on the area are lacking. The outbreak of troubles along the frontiers may perhaps be attributed in part to economic conditions during the year. Grazing was poor. Even the Navajos within the reservation had consumed much of their corn crop in the green stage; by December, they had very little of the harvest left. There were few, if any, pinyon nuts. Game was scarce. It may be presumed that the Spanish-American settlers in the high-altitude frontier towns were suffering equally from poor harvests. Bennett believed that they were "waiting anxiously for, and would take advantage of any opportunity to get the Navajos into trouble" (31). In spite of occasional allusions to bad men or ladrones within the Tribe, specific crimes committed by Navajos were not identified during the latter part of 1869, and the efforts of the headmen to keep the peace were energetic and apparently generally successful. In addition to memories of the final wars and the Fort Sumner exile, which were undoubtedly strong

forces for restraining those tempted to steal, the Government's programs to help the Navajos re-establish their economy gave additional motivation for peaceful behavior. In November 14,000 sheep and 1,000 goats were distributed to assist in rebuilding the Tribe's herds (32). At the end of the year, the agent could report that they considered themselves "at peace with all," and that they were trading with "all adjoining tribes" (33).

This trade was soon revealed to not be entirely innocent, at least in the eyes of the authorities, although the extent of Navajo involvement at this time is somewhat uncertain. A visitor to Fort Wingate reported in March 1870 that he had been among the White Mountain Apaches and passed through Zuni on his way to that post. At Zuni, the Apaches, Navajos, and Hopis came to trade, but not all trade was with the Zunis themselves. One Si Barth was selling whiskey, guns, and ammunition. He was found to have some 10,000 percussion caps and 40 or 50 pounds of lead, which were seized, it being presumed that the guns had all already been sold or hidden away (34). In May, the troops made four excursions in search of illicit traders--three to Zuni, and one to Cubero--and made at least four arrests as a result (35). In June, Moritz Barth and two Spanish-Americans were in the guard house at the fort for selling gunpowder, lead, and whiskey to the Apaches at Zuni. W. F. M. Army made a point of identifying the non-Spanish traders as Jewish (36). It is obvious in the correspondence that inter-ethnic antagonisms were potent factors in the affairs of the frontier during these years--a condition that was to last for an extended period.

Apparently, settlement remained at the edges of the territory that the Navajos were occupying, and little other trouble was reported during 1870 except from the Utes. Army traveled extensively through northwestern New Mexico in June and July. On June 8, he left Zia, passing north of Mount Taylor via Cabezon and Alesna peaks to San Mateo, and finding no settlers between Zia and San Mateo (37). The following month he left Bacon Springs near Fort Wingate and followed a relatively direct route to the Valle Grande in the Jemez Mountains, again encountering no settlers (38). At San Mateo, he wrote, ". . . here resides Roman Baco (sic) whose father, three brothers and two nephews were killed at one time by the Navajos. and his property has on several occasions been stolen" (39). Just when Baca's relatives were killed was not recorded, but it was probably during the warfare that preceded the exile. Marino (40) presents local tradition from Cebolleta of a number of Spanish-American raiders, out for loot and slaves, being killed in one incident that seems to

date in that general time period. Army also described Agent Bennett's attempt to establish peace between the Utes and the Navajos, with the Navajos as a result restoring to the Utes the animals they had captured during the hostilities, but the Utes refusing to reciprocate (41). Before the year was out, the Utes had occasion to regret their sharp dealings in the matter. When, in November, they tried to enlist Navajo support in war against the whites they were refused (42).

But the major problems of the Navajos and their agent during 1870 were economic, and both devoted most of their energies to solutions. The previous year had not been a prosperous one, and little relief was obtained from the forces of nature. As early as February, Bennett was preparing for a distribution of tools for use in spring planting. He was especially explicit in ordering "large Plantation hoes," saying that the Navajos thought small hoes "almost valueless" (43). The Navajos were already busy planting wheat and preparing their cornfields. On March 16, Bennett issued wheat seed and what tools he had. Early in May, he made an issue of seed, with corn as the major item, but also including seeds of pumpkins, squash, turnips, beets, cabbages, beans, peas, onions, watermelons, muskmelons, and "calabashes." Every man, woman, and child who was able went to work in the fields (44). In mid-May, the late annuity goods arrived in Santa Fe. They did not entirely conform to specifications--the spades were "Rowlands" rather than "Armstrongs"--but due to the Navajo need, they were accepted for delivery rather than risk further delay (45). On May 30, a sleet and snow storm, followed by three nights of hard frost, killed all crops except the wheat and peas. Some of the corn came up again, and Bennett issued all the seed he had left to enable replanting (46). More seed--of corn, wheat, beans, and "garden" crops--was purchased in Santa Fe and issued late in the month (47). Drought later in the summer threatened to reduce the harvest further. Bennett was issuing rations of corn and beef, and when Indian Department funds ran out he was able to get the military to take over this task (48). An inspection tour of the reservation in August indicated that the effects of late frost, late planting, and a dry season had been severe, and that the crop that year would be very short (49). On October 20, the agent had to report that early frosts in the fall had cut the harvest to about one third

of what it might have been (50). Rationing continued, but with another near-depletion of supplies in December (51) (52).

Progress was made on other fronts. The boundary of the reservation was surveyed by Captain E. N. Darling (53), and Governor Pile of New Mexico issued an order restraining persons from trespassing on the reservation--this as a result of a pursuit due to a theft (54). In addition, 5,915 Navajos received vaccination against smallpox, but all were apparently reservation residents (55) (56).

More annuity goods were expected late in the year. By July 7, Bennett had already submitted a list, and wrote to amend it so as to substitute 5,000 pounds of "bayetta," a material he had just learned of, for several lesser items. In September, he submitted his requisition for the 1871 annuity issues. Many items were perishable, with cloth of various kinds accounting for nearly half of the cost, but large quantities of things that might yet be identifiable even in open archeological sites were ordered, including butcher knives, large needles, thimbles, awls, brass-head nails, tinned-iron kettles, tin pails, pressed-tin pans, tin dippers, cast-iron shears, wire sieves, and wool cards (57). A later order for agricultural tools included spades, long- and short-handle shovels, steel-edge mattocks, "Douglas" axes, hand-axes, large plantation hoes with steel edges, grain sickles, and hay forks (58).

By February, rations had been exhausted, and some thefts were reported by James H. Miller, who had replaced Bennett as agent (59). Two of these were thefts of livestock from Spanish-Americans at the Piedra Lumbre, not far west of La Ventana on the Puerco of the East (60) (61). Again the military came to the rescue, with 50,000 pounds of corn and 100 beef cattle from Fort Wingate--enough to last another 20 days or so (62). This was long enough to allow the Indian Service to replenish their supply with 400,000 pounds of corn and 700 cattle to carry the Navajos through the spring (63).

Major William Redwood Price, then commanding officer at Fort Wingate, made an inspection trip to Fort Defiance in March to determine the "condition of the Navajos." It was his opinion that those Navajos who did plant in 1870 still had sufficient corn to get by, but that there were some 1,500 who did not plant who relied upon rations from the agency, and upon stealing. These people were from all the various bands of the Tribe, but lived clustered about the agency, and held all the ration tickets (64). However, Miller was trying to

get all the Navajos onto the reservation, and was using rations as his only real inducement. He also suspected that not all thefts attributed to the Navajos were done by them, and cited one instance of horse thieves, pursued from Cubero, who turned out to be Zunis (65). Miller's suggestion for "civilizing" the Navajos involved inducing them to build houses. He believed that if the Government would help the 13 principal chiefs construct houses--which could be done for about \$400 each--their people would follow this good example and also build houses. He wrote, "They would all gladly live in houses, but say that they do not know how to build for themselves" (66).

The generally good relations between the military at Fort Wingate and the nearby Navajos led to an unexpected event in April. Major Price organized a scouting trip to Camp Apache in Arizona to help quell unrest among the White Mountain Apaches. On their own initiative, and without asking any compensation, 15 Navajos joined his party, and their presence did have some effect on the Apaches (67).

The dangers of another war remained serious. There were further rumors of a Ute-Navajo alliance, but an investigation by Captain C. A. Hartwell revealed that the only Utes to have visited Navajo country had stolen some horses and wounded a Navajo. The headmen made assurances of their peaceful intentions toward the United States (68). More imminent was the possibility of a collision between the Navajos and settlers or the Pueblos. Two Zunis had been killed by Navajos, and the Zunis had killed two Navajos in retaliation. The Zunis said that they were satisfied that the score was now even, but were still fearful of a Navajo attack. Efforts by Major Price, Arny--who was then the Pueblo agent--and Miller, were successful in settling this matter in May. The killing of six Navajos by the Hopis was also being handled by negotiations under official supervision (69) (70).

Some cattle were stolen from William Crane at Bacon Springs, and Navajos were blamed. Price felt that vigorous measures were required to suppress such incidents (71). At Miller's request, he arrested two Navajo thieves on the reservation, but whether for this crime or some other is uncertain (72). However, the military's support of the Navajo cause was not weakened, and in June, Price sent Captain Hartwell with 20 men to escort a herd of 3,300 cattle being driven to Arizona--not so much to protect the cattle as to protect the Navajos' good reputation (73):

I have done this to protect the Navajos from the imputation of stealing them should any be lost, and to endeavor to punish the Mexicans. I believe there is a band of outlaws at Cubero and El Rito aided and abetted by one Solomon Barth who would be guilty of any enormity not stopping short of murder. A deserter was killed for his money, near El Rito the day before I passed there, and I understand that a party of them have lately driven in 900 head of cattle stolen from Texas.

Trade in guns, ammunition, and whiskey was continuing at the western Pueblos of Laguna, Acoma, and Zuni. In May, Arny attempted to put a stop to this traffic, but with limited success. He did manage to convince a party of Western Apaches at Acoma that they should return home with a message of peace, but the only trader he could get convicted was punished by a day in jail and a \$25 fine (74). The Navajos were involved in a different kind of trade. They found many of their annuity goods of little use, and were exchanging them at about half their value for sheep. Miller recommended that one half or more of the annuity issue be sheep, which they would not "squander away for nothing," and that the remainder be only goods of high utility such as "Manta, Prints, Tin pails, Pans, Knives, axes, Dye stuffs, Leather, wool cards, Planters hoes, and perhaps some tobacco" (75).

Rations were still being issued in August, but again the supply was running low (76). The summer was another dry one, and in addition, frosts were observed as early as August 17 (77). The crops at Chinle and at Hopi were failures (78) (79). By the end of November, Miller reported that the little corn that the Navajos did manage to raise was gone, and that he had sufficient on hand to ration only into the latter part of December. The Zunis had succeeded in raising a crop, and the Navajos were negotiating with them for seed corn, saying that Zuni corn matured more quickly. Miller recommended that any Government purchases of seed corn for the Navajos also be made at Zuni (80).

Specific reports of events in the Chaco region are lacking. There is a report of an inscription dated 1871 by a Colonel Yumer not far north of the Escavada Wash (81). Possibly an Army unit visited the area, but no official documentation of an expedition has come to light.

The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico remained eager to move into Navajo country. The brief settlement of the upper valley of the Puerco of the East in the previous century had not been forgotten, and the titles to the old land grants from Spain were still extant. By 1870, Cabezon had been re-settled under the name of La Posta; and in 1872, only 2 years short of a century after the settlers' ancestors had been driven out, settlement was extended up the valley to San Luis, La Ventana, and Cuba (82), the last being given at first its old name of Nacimiento (83a) (83b).

The Navajos, with reduced harvests and an erratic ration system, were not long restrained from stealing stock in these exposed locations on lands to which they still felt they had a claim (84-87), although whether stolen sheep taken to the reservation were from the Puerco of the East or from that of the West is not clear in the reports (88).

The turnover in agents for the Tribe, whose tenure was typically short in these early years, was accelerated in June 1872 when Miller, on a trip to the San Juan River to investigate its potential for expansion of Navajo farms, was killed by Ute raiders. Thomas V. Keam, who had been left in charge at the agency, was appointed acting agent (89).

In May, seed was issued to the Navajos--corn, wheat, and "calabash" in large quantities, and perhaps other crops in limited amounts (90). On the night of June 18, another abnormally late spring frost struck. In the Canyon de Chelly area, it killed all squash and melon vines and left only "a few blighted hills of corn." It was so severe that many wild plants on which the Navajos relied for fruits and seeds were also killed (91). Again there was a dry summer and early fall frosts, so that the crop was too small to carry the people through the winter. Limited rationing was kept up through the summer, and Miller's suggestion that sheep make up a portion of the annuity goods was followed, with 10,000 head given out. A large increase--of over 800--was reported in the Tribal population, and attributed largely to the return of Navajos who had been held captive by Spanish-Americans (92).

Although not all captives had been returned (toward the end of the year, Manuelito could still complain to General O. O. Howard that they wanted children returned) (93), the rationing, issue of sheep, and return of a substantial number of captives must have done much to help maintain peace. In addition, a Navajo police force was organized to preserve order (94). In an effort to overcome the problems presented by the short growing seasons, Keam was appointed sub-agent, to be located on the low-altitude lands along the San Juan River to

establish farms there (95). Keam went promptly to his new post and made recommendations for the sub-agency, road, and irrigation (96).

However, early in 1873, J. W. Gould was appointed to replace Keam (97). Funds were short (98), and the commissioner decided merely to order that Navajos who persisted at off-reservation locations be compelled to "return" (99). Gould, after a visit to the San Juan, repeated Keam's costly recommendations (100). However, there had been no Navajo depredations reported for the past year (101), and nothing was done.

W. F. M. Army was appointed Navajo agent. The harvest had been good, and his view of matters was somewhat different from those of his predecessors. As reported by William Vandever, U. S. Indian inspector (102):

He (Army) has for the present stopped the issue of rations to the indians, they having plenty from the crop of corn and melons which they are now gathering and consuming. This appears to be acceptable to the indians for it is a time of general feasting and rejoicing among them and they do not care to come to the Agency for supplies while they have abundance of their own raising. The early frosts of the region prevent much of the corn and other produce from fully maturing, hence the necessity of gathering it and subsisting upon it while it is yet soft. By the time the winter sets in they will gladly avail themselves of the rations furnished by the government.

. . . (The Navajos) are becoming more and more pastoral in their habits. The principal men of the tribe with whom I conversed expressed themselves well satisfied with the location (of the reservation), but they all desire an extension of its limits

Gould's recommendation for development of a sub-agency on the San Juan received only qualified approval in Santa Fe (103), and he soon resigned (104). As funds were lacking anyhow, the proposal was abandoned (105).

In the meantime, Army had resumed rationing (106), and was trying to get all the Navajos onto the reservation (107).

In March, the first formal enlistment of Navajo scouts was made at Fort Wingate under authority only recently granted by the Secretary of War. Only 10 men were recruited, and they remained on duty only until August, but most or all were off-reservation residents (108). However, another 25 Navajos were enlisted to assist in establishing "peaceful conditions" among the Mimbres Apaches in July (109).

Again the Navajo harvest was reported small due to a short season (110). A dry summer and an early fall frost had ruined harvests throughout New Mexico (111).

The shortage of food may have been the cause of an attempted theft of sheep in November. The culprit, a Navajo named Barbas Pardas, was wounded by the shepherd and took refuge with Manuelito, who for some 2 months had been living off the reservation in "the mountains . . . west of San Mateo," apparently on the Mesa de Los Lobos. Arny was concerned about the off-reservation Navajos, some of whom he wrote "have never been on the reservation since the treaty of 1868 except to get annuity goods - and leave again in violation of the treaty" (112).

The winter proved to be a severe one. From the beginning of December well into March the reservation was covered with snow. As late as March 21 there were still 2 feet of snow on the ground, and the Navajos' losses in livestock were heavy. The melting snow produced high water in the spring. Arny reported that the need for rations continued (113) (114). In spite of the hardships of the winter, the wet spring would bring a good growth of grass and give the crops a good start. The Navajos generally tried to maintain peace with their neighbors, but difficulties did arise along their frontiers.

One case that seems to well illustrate the situation was described in some detail by Arny. In the spring, a few Navajos, in order to replenish their herds, went to a sheep ranch owned by M. T. Otero and bought some ewes. The herder then tried to give them wethers--castrated males that would be of no use for breeding. The Navajos refused to accept the wethers, and in the argument that followed the herder shot one of the party, a man named The-Kesh-E-Begay. All of the herders then fled, leaving the sheep. The Navajos then took the flock of several thousand sheep under their care, gathering up all that had scattered, and delivering them up peacefully to Otero's men, who had been sent out to recover them. The Indians denied Otero's charge that they had stolen the sheep, and demanded compensation for the death of The-Kesh-E-

Begay, threatening retaliation if they did not receive something (115). Otero declined to settle the case, and it dragged on through the summer. Arny wrote to object to any lessening of troop strength at Fort Wingate (116). Another killing of Navajos in Utah added to the tense atmosphere. Manuelito made requests for more land for the Tribe, and the request that the Spanish-Americans be required to stay on their side of the line (117). In September, a Navajo killed a Spanish-American hay-cutter near Bacon Springs. This does not seem to have been done as retaliation for the killing of The-Kesh-E-Begay. The Navajo who committed the crime was promptly jailed, but the white killers remained at large. Arny used these events as a part of his reasons for making a trip to Washington with some of the Navajo headmen that fall (118).

There was only one recorded visit to the Chaco region during the year, by Dr. Oscar Loew of the U. S. Geological Survey. He wrote a description of Pueblo Pintado, but gave no information on the people living in the country (119).

During the late spring and early summer, Lieutenant George S. Anderson was detailed to survey a direct wagon road from Fort Garland in Colorado to Fort Wingate. Most of the distance was already traversed by wagon roads, and his major duty was to connect the roads in the upper Chama Valley with those reaching the upper portions of the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East. Once west of the Continental Divide Anderson rode ahead of his survey crew to get supplies at Fort Wingate. Along the Puerco of the East, he repeatedly encountered Spanish-Americans from whom he asked directions, but he does not describe whether they were settlers, wandering shepherds, or mere travelers like himself (120 (121)).

The military continued to use Navajo scouts at Fort Wingate in 1874 (122). In August, 25 were mustered out, probably because they had served the usual 6-month Indian enlistment period (123).

The Navajo crops were again "an almost entire failure" in 1874, and the winter following was another with deep snows. In February 1875, it was reported that the Tribe needed rations (124). Rationing was probably continued into the summer, for drought and a plague of "grasshopper worms" brought predictions of another short crop (125). It is not unlikely that Arny exaggerated conditions, particularly with regard to the 1874 crop, for the late resumption of rationing suggests that supplies had lasted well into the winter even for the poorer Navajo families. Arny was the only Navajo agent of the

period to be accused of large diversions of Government property to his own use, and his "facts" to support shipment of rations and other goods to Fort Defiance must be considered somewhat suspect.

Although there are good indications that some Navajos were patronizing the off-reservation whiskey peddlers much earlier, the first known specific report of trade in whiskey to the Tribe does not appear until 1875. Arny was shocked to find the strong beverage being sold at Fort Defiance during his issue of annuity goods in April. He made arrests and telegraphed Washington for funds to be used in prosecution (126).

Arny's major scheme while he was Navajo agent had been a devious negotiation to free the Carrizo Mountains of reservation status in order to open the area for exploitation of its rumored, but mythical, wealth in gold. In doing so, he tried to engineer a trade of the northern third of the reservation, including the much-needed low-altitude lands along the San Juan River, for lands south of the reservation and toward the Fort Wingate military reservation. It was soon ascertained that the lands he proposed to add to the reservation lay within the grant to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, a predecessor of the present-day Santa Fe railway. He was ordered to examine the lands north of the railroad grant and east of the reservation to see whether these would be a satisfactory substitute (127). Unfortunately for his plans--but fortunately for the Navajos--the entire plot collapsed before he could even carry out his explorations. It may well be that the whiskey peddlers had a hand in his downfall.

One of the chief white opponents of the proposed land trade was Thomas V. Keam, who had helped determine the need for the farmland along the San Juan. According to Arny, Keam's brother, William, was involved in the whiskey trade at Cubero, and the Cubero traders had formed an alliance against him (128a)(128b). Arny soon found himself opposed not only to the Keam brothers, but to the military as well, and he accused both of supplying whiskey to off-reservation Navajos, specifying that Manuelito, Mariano, and Delgadito were the leading men that he thought should be compelled to live on the reservation (129). However, the headmen were the victors in the dispute, and rather than Arny forcing them to come to the reservation, they forced him to leave it.

Their old friend, Major Price, was made acting Navajo agent during the crisis. In his new capacity, the major

reported on the condition of affairs under Army's management (130):

The Indians believed they had other grievances against their Agent, Army, they have for nearly two years been trying to have a settlement for the killing of four of their number, three of whom were killed on the Western border of their Reservation by Mormons, as they believe, and one was killed between here and Santa Fe by some Mexicans with whom he was trying to trade for sheep.

Gov. Army's methods of arranging these matters was (sic) to take a trip to Washington

The Indians complain that the trip was made for the glorification of Gov. Army, and that none of requests were attended to, or even talked about

These matters are still unsettled, and I have been besieged (sic) this week by all the Headmen of the tribe to endeavor to get a settlement,- the Indian method of settling is to pay something to the family of the party killed - a judicious expenditure of a few hundred dollars in sheep or horses to be given to them, would at any time have rendered them perfectly contented and satisfied.

Price continued his report by describing methods of bookkeeping and storage of Government property that indicated that Army had not been entirely honest in handling the annuities and rations, and further described Army's efforts to open the Carrizo Mountains to prospectors.

Two additional events of the year also have some relevance to the history of the off-reservation Navajos, but again tell us little that is specific about the Chaco Navajos. Lieutenant C. C. Morrison of the Army Corps of Engineers, who took part in the geological surveys that year, visited Pueblo Pintado, then crossed Chacra Mesa and passed westward south of Fajada. His only descriptions are of the ruins and topography. If he encountered Navajos or others, he did not make a record of the fact (131). In October, a delegation of Navajos visited the Jicarillas near their agency at Cimarron, and spent much of their time there in conference with Juan Julian, an Apache who had recently shot the Jicarilla agent, Alex G. Irvine, in the hand (132).

In 1876, there were several events that had direct or indirect effects on the off-reservation Navajos. Perhaps that of greatest importance was the advance of white settlement. In the summer of 1875, two brothers, William and Simeon Hendrickson, of Animas City in Colorado, had scouted the San Juan Valley in search of a place to establish farms. They were most favorably impressed by the country near the junction of the San Juan and Animas Rivers, and William returned the following year with four companions with whom to found the settlement that would soon receive the name of Farmington (133). The first map to show the new settlement was produced in July of that same year, with four little squares in about the right location with a label of "Ranches." Also shown is the "Cañon Largo Road" leading from Abiquiu in the Chama Valley via Coyote across the Divide and down Largo Canyon to the San Juan River, where it branches on the south side of the river. The branch on the right leads up the river, ending opposite the mouth of the Rio de Los Pinos; the branch of the left goes down stream along the river until a little above the mouth of the Animas where it crosses both rivers, passes through the settlement, and continues northwest to strike the Rio de La Plata, which it follows north to just a little beyond the Colorado State line. The only other settlements west of the Continental Divide are those to the north in Colorado: Parrot City, Animas, Hermoso, and Pagosa. On the upper Chama, Tierra Amarilla and Fort Lowell appear (134). It is probable that the road was a part of the system owned by the Santa Fe, Abiquiu and Cañon Largo Toll Road and Turnpike Company, which complained of trouble with the Utes along its roads in 1876 (135).

In the same year, an important settler established a ranch near San Mateo. He was Manuel Antonio Chaves, half-brother of Román Baca, who had founded the settlement. A wealthy and politically influential man, he operated his ranch with peons and captive Indian servants, was active in the trade in Indian captives during the Navajo wars, and is suspect of complicity in the massacre of Navajos gathered for horse races at Fort Fauntleroy in 1861 (136).

Funds were requested to build the direct wagon road from Fort Garland to Fort Wingate early in the year (137). As indicated above, this was not really a direct route. Maps of the survey show it proceeding up the Rio Conejos to the Chama; down the Chama and over the mountains via Gallinas Creek to the Puerco of the East, which it followed to about Cabezon; and thence southwesterly to connect with the road from San Mateo to Bluewater. The greater part of this route followed already-established wagon roads (138).

This approach of settlement and development by whites from the north was still minor compared to the advance of stockmen from the south and east, where most conflicts were reported. In January, James Hubbell complained, on behalf of José L. Perea of Bernalillo, that the Navajos had taken a herd of his sheep. Irvine, who had been appointed Navajo agent, investigated the incident, and found that it had grown out of a card game of monte, during which Perea's mayordomo had provoked a quarrel with a Navajo and killed him. The mayordomo and the herders then fled, leaving the sheep. The murdered Navajo's friends, having discovered his body and the unattended sheep, took charge of the flock. Irvine sent a runner to Manuelito's camp to call a meeting at Fort Wingate. Because the incident had taken place off the reservation and all those involved were also off-reservation, he requested Major Price's assistance (139).

Price met Manuelito and a number of other Navajos, apparently including some of those who had rounded up the herd, and wrote Irvine (140):

. . . The Indians assert and the Mexicans concede that the killing of the Navahoe (by) the Mexican was a brutal and barbarous affair. Manuelito said that the herd of sheep was without herders when the friends of the murdered man went to the camp, that the drove it towards the Reservation, notifying him, Manuelito about it. He says he told them to take them back and turn them over to the Mexicans or they would get into trouble. They claimed that they should have 450 sheep to be turned over to the family of the murdered man. He thought they had turned over the remainder to the Mexicans I learned that having the sheep in their possession they had concluded to take pay for two other Indians that had been killed during the past two years at the rate of 450 a piece. For the Indian that was killed by Otero's herders about which they have talked so much and for the one that was killed accidentally at Fort Wingate last summer and of which there was a perfectly satisfactory understanding at the time. I told Manuelito that he must go and recover 900 sheep, that the 450 head that he claimed the Mexicans had given the Indians could be considered afterwards. He promised to go out and return with the sheep and three burros that belonged to the herd in ten days.

Price relinquished command of the post on January 27, 2 days before the appointed time. However, he learned later that Manuelito had brought in the three burros, but had been unable to get the scattered sheep, which had probably been

divided among various relatives of the deceased men. Major Osborne, who succeeded Price in command at Fort Wingate, gave Manuelito another 10 days to get the sheep (140). No report of Manuelito's success or failure has been found, but recovery of livestock once dispersed was generally very difficult, and it is unlikely that he was able to collect more than a fraction of the 900.

Incidents such as this helped build up public opinion favoring the driving of all Navajos onto their reservation, but they also had the opposite effect upon the Navajo public. At a council with the agent in April, the headmen requested an extension of the reservation to the San Mateo Mountains (Mount Taylor) on the east, to Zuni on the south, to the Colorado Chiquito (Little Colorado) on the west, and to the Rio Mancos on the north (141). The commissioner wanted a better description of the lands requested, and advised that the railroad grant "must be respected" (142). The boundaries listed by Irvine are rather imprecise, and suggest that the Navajos' request suffered something in translation.

The change in command at Fort Wingate did not alter the close working relationship of the Army and the off-reservation Navajos. In May, Lieutenant Henry Wright was able to enlist 25 scouts who served well on a scouting expedition into the Gila country, participating bravely under fire in an attack on the camp of Victorio, an Apache chief (143). In July, another 25 scouts were enlisted for service in the Apache campaigns on the Gila (144).

The first recommendation that Navajo sheep be improved by crossing them with superior breeds was made in this year. Leicester or Cotswold sheep were suggested as the most likely breeds (145).

In the spring of 1877, another visit to Chaco Canyon was reported. William H. Jackson of the Geological Survey began his trip on May 7 at Jemez, where he procured the services of Hosta, who had served as guide on the Washington expedition in 1849. Hosta was then quite old and his eyesight was failing, but he was quick to accept the work, and took along a grandson to assist him. The small party crossed the Puerco of the East by a bridge near Cabezon, and followed nearly the same route that Washington and Simpson had almost three decades before. At Torreon, Jackson noted "some good land here, which has been utilized, as long as Hosta can remember, by the Navajos, for planting corn." Within 6 or 7 miles of Pueblo Pintado, on the Chaco River, he again encountered Navajo fields (146):

. . . We found some water-pockets formed by an obstruction in the bed of the arroyo. A few families of Navajos, with large numbers of sheep and some horses, were camped nearby. The previous season they had planted considerable ground in corn, drawing off by acequias the water which occasionally finds its way into the arroyo, and flooding the loose, porous soil adjacent to it. By a little prudent forethought in storing water at the right time, they are enabled to reclaim what would otherwise be an unprofitable waste.

After examining Pueblo Pintado, Jackson, Hosta, and the grandson traveled down the main canyon, finding numerous small cottonwoods along the wash. After riding 2 hours, they found more pools in the arroyo bottom, and about 6 miles above Wijiji, "some families of Navajos, with their sheep and goats, were camped nearby" (147). It is not unlikely that this was George's outfit, but Jackson did not identify by name any of the Navajos that they encountered. In any case, the Navajos whom he met seem to have not been unfriendly, for he makes no further mention of them. Far removed from the turbulent events along the frontier, they had probably not yet been affected by the rising competition for the grazing on the surrounding public domain.

In August, there was a report of Navajos stealing livestock. They were accused of taking only the best animals so as to be able to improve their own herds (148).

In the same month, Irvine wrote that the Navajos had not, for the past 8 years, received hoes of the size they required for irrigating in their annuity issues, and had therefore had to buy them at a cost of \$1.25 to \$1.50 each. He advised that 150 dozen of the "largest size plantation hoes" be purchased for the next issue (149). This seems to have been a difficult item for the Government to purchase for some reason. In October, Irvine wrote a list of the goods not yet received, and it included the large hoes, as well as a large quantity of red flannel, scarlet yarn, calico, sheeting, clothing, tin pans, camp kettles, butcher-knives, tinned tablespoons, sheep-shears, wool cards, and brass kettles in sizes 2, 3, and 4 quarts (150). Rations were still being given out, but Government purchase of beef cattle did not entitle them to the hides, and in November, Irvine wrote to let it be known that the Navajos needed the hides for moccasin soles (151).

Only a few Navajo scouts appear to have been enlisted in 1877. In January, Lieutenant Wright, operating out of Fort

Bayard with a small detachment of nine Negro soldiers and three Navajos, engaged in a successful fight to break out of a Chiricahua ambush. While documentation of other Navajo military service during the year is lacking, there is a strong possibility that Navajos were enlisted to help in the removal of New Mexico Apaches to Arizona later in the year (152).

White settlement continued to advance. Ranches were being established in the country above Nacimiento (153), and it is reported, but not well documented, that the Tiz-na-zin trading post some miles down the Chaco was established in this year (154). The real conflict appears to have been in the San Juan Valley. The settlements there were growing rapidly, and the situation was already close to provoking hostilities, at least according to a petition sent to Irvine toward the end of November (155):

. . . There are bands of Navajoe Indians scattered along the river who make it very annoying to the settlers by means of threatening to drive them away and driving stock and scattering them. Some of the citizens are annoyed to such an extent that they cannot put up buildings to shelter themselves. They the Indians claiming the land and trying every means they can to drive them, the whites off We don't want to have anymore trouble with the Indians; it has come very near to bloodshed two or three times, and we wish to avoid it if possible and if there is not something done there will be trouble and very likely bloodshed, as some of the settlers are annoyed beyond endurance.

Irvine went personally to investigate the reports. He found Navajos along the San Juan and Animas, and Navajos and a few Utes with fields on the La Plata. He recommended that they be required to go on the reservation, but did not view the situation with alarm, stating only that the move should be "previous to the 1st of May 1878, they can do little damage before that time" (156).

However, the whites were not so easily satisfied. They next petitioned the President for the establishment of a military post at the junction of the San Juan and Animas. There were 148 signatures on this petition--ample evidence of the rate of influx to the newly opened country. Of these, 90 were Anglo names, 56 Spanish, and two are illegible (157). The predominantly Spanish settlements on the east and south had long failed to come to terms with their Navajo neighbors, but

the predominantly Anglo settlements on the San Juan were not to make a better record.

The year 1878 began with a smallpox epidemic in the Spanish towns bordering Navajo country, and Irvine asked Dr. Walter Whitney of the Southern Apache Agency to come to the Navajo Reservation to assist with vaccinations (158). In spite of these precautions, the disease did spread to the Tribe (159), although the extent of its damage is not known.

The settlers on the San Juan and Animas continued their complaints. In February, they sent a representative to take a petition personally to the district commander. The petition painted a gloomy picture of conditions on the two rivers (160):

Praying that you will send to us troops to protect our families and homes, that the Indians are killing our cattle and that in early spring they will masacre (sic) our families if we do not get protection or leave our homes for some safe place, that the Animas and San Juan Valleys have but recently been settled by the undersigned many of whom have come a long distance at a great expense in many cases all they have to get to this country, and are not able to remove their families, that they are not able to plant their crops as they have to live in stockades or forts away from their farms - That if they do not get assistance distress and famine will be our doom

Reports from the area were conflicting. Irvine, relying only on what he considered the most reliable information, wrote that the Utes were preparing for war, killing cattle and jerking the meat, and trying to enlist Navajo support. He tried to contact Largo, said to be headman of the Navajos in the area, and sent word that the Navajos should all come onto the reservation. In addition he asked that a military force be sent through the country east of the reservation to see that the Navajos did move, and to separate the Utes and Navajos (161).

Thomas B. Hart, a settler on the Animas, stated that the Navajos, who had kept their stock on that river for years, were moving away, fearing loss of their animals when the Utes began the war (162).

Captain F. T. Bennett at Fort Wingate, quoting Chee Dodge, who had recently visited the Navajos on the San Juan, wrote that although the Navajos had visited and traded with the Utes a great deal recently, none had heard of any Ute plans for war, and he believed the war scare greatly exaggerated. Still, he had joined Irvine in advising the Navajos to move away from the Utes before doing their planting (163). Troops were sent, and found Navajos on both the San Juan and La Plata, the latter associating with Utes and Paiutes. The Paiutes fled, and the Utes and Navajos were directed to go to their respective reservations (164).

In the same month, drunkenness among the Navajos was reported in the Fort Wingate area, and Colonel P. T. Swaine, the commanding officer, issued a warning that all caught selling, giving, or trading liquor to them would be arrested (165). Some of the drinking took place at Manuelito's camp (166).

The summer was an extremely dry one (167). Navajos were undoubtedly in need of extra income, and several served as scouts during the year. Lieutenant Wright was again in Southern Apache country. In July, he led a Navajo detachment in pursuit of some Mescaleros, whom they defeated in a brief battle in the Guadalupe Mountains, later in the day overtaking two others who escaped wounded. Five scouts with a detachment of soldiers under Captain Henry Corral successfully attacked another Mescalero camp in the Sacramento Mountains in the same month (168). Lieutenant Wright's scouts were discharged at Fort Wingate on December 1, but a new contingent was enlisted on the 11th, which he led on an expedition toward Ojo Caliente (169).

According to Judd (170), quoting John Wetherill, the first intrusion of white stockmen into the Chaco country came in 1878 or 1879 with the arrival of two large cattle outfits--the LC's and the Carlises. This date seems too early in view of the contemporary documentation, which suggests that these cattlemen did not come into the country until the next decade. A more detailed consideration of this subject will be presented below.

As so often happens in a dry year, when the rains did come, there were floods which destroyed much of the crop. Agent John E. Pyle contracted for 250,000 pounds of corn to see the Tribe through the winter (171).

The headmen renewed their pleas for an extension of the reservation on all sides. General Sherman, on a visit to

Fort Wingate, noted that the Tribal population was increasing, but recommended that the only addition to Navajo lands be made on the west (172). Colonel Swaine later reported that Manuelito, Mariáño, and other leaders were still asking for more land on the east (173). At the end of the year, a representative of the Presbyterian Church wrote from Fort Defiance that the Navajos were still scattered miles beyond the reservation line, where they were obliged to go in search of feed and water for their flocks. He commented on the good care given the sheep: They were always attended by one or two herders; and lambs born during bad weather were taken into their homes, apparently sometimes in such numbers that the family would have to move out and suffer the cold themselves in order to save their lambs (174).

Navajos continued to take part as scouts in the Apache wars. On June 17, Lieutenant Emmet of the 9th Cavalry arrived at Fort Wingate with nine scouts, who were discharged 2 days later. Ten scouts were enlisted on the 25th, and left with Emmet for Fort Bayard on the 27th (175). In September, Lieutenant Wright was scouting in the Socorro Mountains with 10 Navajos and 15 soldiers under his command. Later joining other troops with more Navajo scouts, they pursued Victorio's band, engaged them in battle once, and then took part in further efforts to run down the elusive Apache chief until their enlistments expired in December (176).

The close Navajo-military relationship was undoubtedly kept in mind that fall when troops were ordered to the San Juan. Another dry year (177) had brought about renewed competition between whites and Navajos for scarce resources in that area. On October 8, Colonel Buell led three companies of the 9th Cavalry, with arms including a Gatling gun, north from Fort Wingate to the mouth of the Animas (178). He kept the new Navajo agent, Galen Eastman, informed of his activities, and solicited his aid, particularly in locating the eastern boundary of the reservation. Eastman himself was none too sure just where it might be, but apparently decided that the hogback near the mouth of the Chaco was an easily recognized landmark and ordered that the Navajos stay west of that point. Eastman strongly supported an extension of the reservation to the east and south in order to give the Navajos some lower country to which they could safely take their flocks when the snows were deep on the reservation (179).

Eastman had sent an interpreter with two letters to Buell. The interpreter did not arrive, but the letters were brought through, and Buell tried to explain the agent's

orders as best he could to the Navajos. He asked that Eastman also give the Navajos permission to water their stock at the San Juan further east so long as they did not interfere with the settlers, explaining (180):

. . . I think they have as good a right to that belt of country south of the San Juan, although off their Reservation to herd their flocks, as people living on the North side have to graze their herds on the South side as a citizen can only claim 160 Acres, only a few Citizens are on the South side for a few miles up.

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. . . As there is but little water along the Eastern boundary of the Navajoe Reservation (the route I came) I would recommend that you urge an additional Reservation at once, for the Navajos by Executive Order, of ten miles width I do not think the additional Reservation would affect any citizen, except probably a dozen settlers on the South side of the San Juan, part of whom are mining in the summer time, and have come down and taken claims for the winter.

The only violence reported by Buell was the shooting of 10 sheep by a settler, when Largo's son herded them to the river to drink, but he suspected some whiskey trade to the Navajos, and asked that if the interpreter could not come that a U.S. Marshall be sent (180).

Eastman did modify his orders to the Navajos, as requested by Buell, to allow them to water their stock at the river "until this unprecedented drouth and dearth of grass is tided over." The interpreter had fallen ill on his journey, but had apparently recovered, for Eastman started him again toward the San Juan. He also asked the settlers to send a representative to the agency to help resolve the increasing complications that had developed. He reported his actions to the commissioner, and once more urged an extension of the reservation on the east and south (181).

A small group of citizens--all Anglo--next submitted a petition to Buell complaining that the Navajos were bringing their herds even east of the mouth of the Animas and over-running their property. They asserted that the reservation line was 15 miles below the mouth of the Animas--a fairly good estimate (182). Buell had moved his troops up the Animas into Colorado, and felt that his orders did not allow

him to deal further with the matter except in case of extreme emergency or if called upon by the agent. He wrote Eastman that he should come personally to the San Juan and try to settle the dispute, noting that a settler on the south side of the river and above the mouth of the Animas had made a serious accusation of misconduct on the part of the Navajos and that he feared trouble (183). One settler at Bloomfield, J. E. Storie, wrote directly to the Secretary of the Interior to complain that they were (184)

. . . annoyed almost beyond endurance by the indians. They are bringing their flocks and herds right up to our houses and we can't leave anything out of our Sight without getting it Stolen. They are at our houses every day begging or wanting to trade so that we can't be away at work. Grass is very Short here this fall and if we can't get rid of the indians Stock are bound to Suffer Severely and farmers and Stock men are bound to Sustain heavy losses (sic) on account of their Stock dying; and furthermore the indians are getting very Saucy so that if anyone tells them to leave he is Sure to have a row on his hands immediately

An Indian Service inspector, J. H. Hammond, visited the agency in November. While he did not get to the San Juan, his remarks on conditions in general shed some light on the Navajo side of the question (185):

The flocks for many years have grazed far beyond the limits of the Reservation during the whole of every winter: compelled to do so or starve - and - I pronounce the subsistence of the present number of flocks & herds, within the present Reservation, as not possible

On the East side also the sheep & goats graze many miles beyond the Reservation limits, the Indians carefully cultivating corn & melons every spot on which water can be introduced.

In short, the country on three sides, south, West and East of the Reservation is filled with Indians and their flocks & has been for many years.

He concluded by also recommending an extension to the reservation (185).

In his monthly report, Eastman clearly showed that there was a growing ill feeling between the military and civil authorities, but both were apparently supporting the Navajo cause, even if in disagreement on how this should be handled (186):

. . . I have just despatched two of my reliable Chiefs to see that all remains quiet in future and also to seek the disturbers or obtain their names if their presence can not be obtained; the whites (sic) settlers have also been to see me and they first caused the trouble as I was informed - they now agree to work with me in friendly directions, and I believe now that the "Ft. Wingate Column" of observation have removed from the mouth of the "Animus (sic) River" to "Animus (sic) City" - the troubles will cease.

He repeated his proposal that the reservation be extended, and thought that with an increase of 12 miles on both the east and south and the development of wells and windmills it should be possible in the future to place all of the Navajos on the reservation (186). Washington merely referred the settlers' complaints to the agency, and instructed Eastman to handle the matter, implying that he should keep all Navajos on the reservation (187-189).

The problems of the off-reservation Navajos and the definition of their rights on public-domain lands become a matter of Government concern during the 1870's, but little resolution of the matter was achieved. However, the pressures that would ultimately require answers to the question of Navajo rights off the reservation were beginning to grow, and trends that would influence later developments were set in motion.

The agency and the military at Fort Wingate, while sometimes in conflict over details and methods, became the primary defenders of Navajo rights. Settlers, both Spanish and Anglo, directed their complaints alternately to these two outposts and to officials of the counties, the territory, and the Government in Washington. Citizen complaints often had an emotional tone, suggesting exaggeration, and the frequency with which field investigation of the complaints found reason to support Navajos accused of wrong-doing lends further credence to this interpretation.

The Navajos of the Chaco country probably remained insulated from white contact of any sustained or threatening

nature, but this condition would not last long. White settlers were looking with envy at lands that supported Indians as other parts of the public domain were appropriated and as overgrazing depleted the resources of lands already occupied. The narrowing rim of Christendom was moving inward from three sides. It would soon break under the pressure, and whites and Navajos become so intermixed in the high and relatively inhospitable Chaco region that another war would be unlikely. A new kind of competition was replacing the alternative of war.

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Chapter 3

COLLAPSE OF THE FRONTIER: THE 1880's

As noted in the preceding chapter, the first known intrusion of white settlers into the Chaco region was by Anglo cattlemen. The date of their arrival is not known with any precision. Judd quotes John Wetherill and gives variant dates in different sources, 1878 or 1879 (1) and 1880 (2). The confusion may be in part due to the involvement of two different cattle companies.

One company, the LC outfit, owned by a Dr. Lacy, may well have entered the area in the late 1870's. Judd (3) notes that it was apparently not in the country when Jackson visited the canyon in 1877, and he reports that Wello, a local Navajo, took over the ranch headquarters that the company built under the cliff north of Peñasco Blanco when they moved out. The LC herd was moved to Montezuma County, Colorado, in 1879. The owner, Dr. Lacy, was killed at Fort Lewis in 1881, and his widow brought in her brothers--Jim, John, and Bill Brumley--to handle the cattle for her. The history of this operation has no further connection with the Chaco area (4).

In 1909, Wello, under the name Walo, or Hosteen Tah-b'kin, stated that he had lived on the land around Peñasco Blanco for 29 years (5), which would date his occupancy from about 1880. An earlier record from 1894 states he had lived on his land, location not identified, for 12 years (6), and this would indicate settlement in 1882. There are not sufficient data to resolve the discrepancy, but in any case it is not great.

The Carlisle company may have come as early, but no data on their presence appear until later, when they seem to have ranged their stock closer to the San Juan--a matter that will be considered in greater detail below. It should be noted that the LC and Carlisle outfits may have been interrelated in some way (7).

For the Navajos generally, a major event during 1880 was the second extension of the reservation by Executive order, on January 6. On the east, this brought the reservation line 15

miles closer to Chaco Canyon (8). Eastman reported that the addition might include a few "squatters" on the south bank of the San Juan, and sent them notice of the new boundaries (9). There was no immediate response to the news from the settlers.

In the spring, there were reports of traffic in liquor to the Navajos at San Mateo, Cubero, and San Rafael (10). Eastman had been replaced by Captain F.T. Bennett as acting agent, and the matter received scant attention from Fort Defiance. The Army did make an effort to control this illegal trade. A rumor reached Fort Wingate that Manuelito, the leading headman of the Eastern Navajos, was bringing a load of whiskey from San Mateo. Captain J.H. Bradford, accompanied by Captain W.L. Hartz and 12 men, was sent to intercept him on June 9. They returned on June 12, apparently without success (11).

Bennett's appointment brought on a minor war scare, which, transitory as it was, shows the concern of the off-reservation Navajos for their land rights. The reservation extension had taken in only a small part of the lands occupied by Navajos, and Bennett had previously aroused Tribal suspicions concerning his opinions on off-reservation occupancy.

In June, a Navajo named Tīne ts'ū se (probably Dine Ts'osi, "Slim Navajo") from a place called Coyote Spring in the Zuni language, visited Zuni, allegedly as an emissary of his tribe. As reported by some leading Zunis, he had said (12):

. . . His people were not so fond of him, Captain Bennett, as was generally supposed. That they "Did not want him" and many of them were at enmity with him because he had tried to induce Wā shī, a principal Navajo squaw, and others to leave certain waters near Wingate and Nutria. That the Navajoes propose to remain where they are scattered over the Territory or to roam and graze their flocks wherever they pleased and that in case Captain Bennett or anyone else attempted to force them within or toward the line of their Reservation they should resist it and fight "until we wipe out all Americans" as they express it. That they had dispatched messengers to the Moquis and Rio Grande Pueblos assuring them that the Navajoes would do them no injury and that they desired to sustain friendly relations with all. That messengers had also been sent to the various bands of Eastern Apaches with assurances of friendship, and a desire in case of trouble that they should unite with them (the Navajoes) in fighting the Americans.

Bennett made no immediate moves to dispossess the off-reservation people, and the accuracy of the Zuni report is not known. F.H. Cushing was one of the signers of the report, and he very likely wrote it.

Early summer was dry, and the crops were threatened by drought. Toward the end of July or beginning of August, heavy rains came, doing much damage through floods, and leaving some Navajo farms "almost completely washed away" (13). The crop was later reported to have been "quite a total loss." There were also heavy livestock losses during the following winter (14). The only bright aspect of the economic picture was a good market for wool (15), which probably allowed the Navajos to trade for much-needed supplies with a commodity that was then in demand.

By August, Bennett was able to give some attention to the liquor traffic. He reported whiskey being sold to the Navajos at San Mateo and the "Mexican Towns" near old Fort Wingate (16), the latter undoubtedly being San Rafael and Cubero. Toward the end of the year, a detachment was sent out from Fort Wingate to investigate the reports (17). Lieutenant George R. Burnett was unable to catch any violators, but saw and heard enough to convince him that whiskey was being sold at several places (18):

. . . About the railroad camps . . . I did not see anything positive, yet the quantity of empty beer bottles and new empty whiskey barrels lying around some of them, was sufficient to create a very strong suspicion in my mind

From the mass of information picked up along the route, I infer that old Fort Wingate and San Mateo are the places where the Indians trade most extensively for liquor and that certain individuals in these places sent these small outfits into the mountains to trade for them, although there are other places, such as Bluewater, Cubero, McCarty's Ranch, and the camps and cabins referred to, where the Indians get it in small quantities and by the drink.

The sending of trading parties into Navajo country may have been stimulated by the good wool market, which induced both ranchers and traders to make an effort to purchase Navajo wool from a people not yet so dependent on a cash economy that they made any large effort to exploit this new source of income.

Army involvement in efforts to suppress the liquor trade seemingly did not interfere with the general good relations at the fort. Navajo scouts continued to serve in the campaign against Victorio's Apaches until that band was defeated in Chihuahua by Mexican forces (19). If Manuelito was buying whiskey, he did not let that disrupt his efforts to gain more land for the Tribe. At a council held at Fort Defiance in December, he stated that he wanted (20)

. . . the Country between San Mateo and San Juan (River). This is the best property that I know. I hunted there when I was a boy. It is not within the railroad limmet (sic) now and Americans don't want it. It will furnish range for our stock and that we need

It is possible that Manuelito's assertion that the Anglos did not want the country east of the reservation was based in part on knowledge that the LC outfit had recently given up in the Chaco country and moved out, undoubtedly due to the drought.

The year thus drew to a close with one reservation extension having been gained and the prospects of more seeming good. Although crops had not done well, the wool sales not only helped fill the need, but perhaps supplied a few luxuries, including whiskey. Prospects for the off-reservation Navajos appeared deceptively promising.

Trouble recurred on the San Juan in 1881--from an unexpected source. Early in the year, a cowboy named Frank Meyers shot and mortally wounded a Navajo on the streets of Farmington. Exact details vary in the sources available, but that Meyers was drunk and the attack unprovoked seem to be well established. A band of Navajo warriors, some 25 to 30 in number, rode into town not long afterwards and demanded satisfaction. Dr. John W. Brown--the only physician in the settlement at that time, and a man who had already established some friendships in the Tribe, perhaps through the exercise of his profession--in order to save the town led the Navajos to the cornfield in which Meyers was hiding. The Indians promptly set fire to the corn racks. The ashes revealed two six-shooters and a pair of burned boots. An Army investigation was conducted from Fort Lewis (21a)(21b). The Army's reports commented on "an absence of law and order in the vicinity"(22).

Poor law enforcement was probably a chronic problem throughout much of the West during this time. The presence of a relatively neutral law-enforcement agency in the Army was undoubtedly to the Navajos advantage in many cases. Twice in the spring, the Fort Wingate commander dispatched troops to investigate problems between settlers and Indians (23).

Eastman returned as agent, replacing Bennett, and noted that the Navajos were acquiring guns (24). However, he remained a firm supporter of the Navajos' rights on the public domain. In September, he wrote to protest General Sherman's order that all Indians off the reservation be considered hostile, noting his earlier promise that the Navajos could settle anywhere, and asking that his Tribe be exempted from the order (25). The request was passed through the requisite Federal channels and Sherman asked to explain. He thought that perhaps he had told Manuelito that the Navajos could homestead, but added that to do so they would have to live as whites, not as Tribesmen. In any case, he explained, his order was meant to apply only to Apaches (26).

Neither General Sherman nor the Navajos fully understood the ramifications of his conditions for off-reservation settlement. A small step in this direction had been taken, although undoubtedly more as a result of the agent's desires than in conformity with Sherman's ideas. During the summer, Manuelito began construction of an adobe house, and requested that the agent supply him with doors and windows for his new home (27). Others soon followed Manuelito's example, and with what resources he had, Eastman encouraged the building boom with "windows, doors, nails, lumber &c." (28).

Climatic conditions showed no improvement during 1881. On March 18, a severe snow began that lasted for several days, accompanied by sleet and intense cold. The Navajos were reported to have lost at least 10,000 sheep. They had not yet sheared their sheep--if they had, losses would have been much greater (29). Loss of horses also ran high--one estimate indicated that a third had perished. Supplies of wheat and flour were requested by the military (30). In spite of extensive planting, the Navajo harvest was poor. Early in the season the crops suffered from drought, wind, and worms (31). Heavy rains in mid-summer were too late to do much for the crops, and although they caused floods that destroyed some fields, they did provide good winter range (32a) (32b).

An influx of white settlers into the Chaco region had probably begun by this time. In 1882, the General Land Office undertook to lay out townships throughout much of the country east of the reservation, and settlers or prospective settlers willing to pay the not-insubstantial costs of the surveys were found for a great many of the townships, with costs ranging from \$640 to \$854 (33). The first deposits of these payments were made on February 24 (34). Others followed throughout the year (35-44). The flood of applications for surveys, from all parts of the territory, was such that by mid-March the surveyor

general, Henry M. Atkinson, was requesting special funds to allow him to investigate for any fraud (45a)(45b).

. . . I deem it necessary from the number of such applications, that I investigate the question of whether these settlers are bonafide in all cases, and also as far as possible cause an inspection of field work, and to that end I desire to know if there is any fund available . . . It is impossible for this office to determine the facts without such investigation, as the applications received are apparently in due form, and the bonafide residence of the applicant is sworn to by two witness

This territory has had a large addition to its population the past two years that has scattered over the country in all directions, yet that very fact might be taken advantage of to impose upon this office in the matter of applications, and it is impossible to detect a fraudulent application from a bonafide one in most instances, except by an investigation as proposed

There is no record of any investigation of either the fact of settlement or of the accuracy of the surveyors' work in the Chaco country. There is good reason for doubting that field conditions were exactly those represented on paper for some of the townships, but there were apparently white settlers in the country.

The first township to be surveyed of the 15, including the central portion of the Chaco drainage, was T20N, R8W, for which a George Boyle made a payment of \$854 (45c). A contract was let to the firm of Warner and Fuss on March 10, 1882, and the field-work done from April 17 to 24. The only structures noted by Joseph J. Fuss, the surveyor, were the ruins of Pueblo Pintado, which he indicated merely as "Old Pueblo Ruins," and Boyle's stone house in section 24 (45d).

Fuss then proceeded to survey the next township to the north--T21N, R8W--for which Francisco Cordova had paid \$684 (45e). His notes mention as improvements only a ranch and corral at a water hole in section 9, but did not name any settlers, suggesting that Cordova was not in residence at the time (46). These two structures and two coal outcrops are the only features of special interest aside from general topography on the survey plat (47).

On May 1, Fuss began a survey of T21N, R9W, for which Felix Cordova had paid \$722. The plat of this survey shows a house labeled "Cordova's" in section 31 and a few details of topography (48). Fuss's field notes for this township are a bit more informative than those he wrote for the preceding townships (49):

The land in this Township is slightly rolling. Soil Sandy and 2nd and 3d Rate, with heavy growth of sage brush and Grama grass - With plenty of Water in Arroyo for stock purposes for which the Township is well adapted, and for which it is used to a great extent. Cordova's Sheep ranch in Sec. 31 Stone House & corrals.

The next township to be surveyed within this rather arbitrarily chosen area was T22N, R8W. James R. Butler had paid \$722 for the work, and Fuss duly noted his house in section 35 (50). His field notes describe the settlement as "Butler's Sheep ranch" (51).

In July, James P. Lindsey, of the firm of Hardy and Lindsey, conducted a survey of T20N, R10W. Although Atancio Ulibarri had paid \$652 for the work, no settlement appears on the plat, nor is one mentioned in the field notes. The only evidence of man's presence is a trail running from south to north through the center of the township (52a)(52b).

In the following month, Lindsey surveyed T20N, R11W. This work was financed by Thomas C. Crossett at a cost of \$652. The plat shows a house and corral in section 6, which are identified merely as "a Ranch and Corral" in the field notes. A trail runs northwesterly from the southeast corner, a westerly fork branching off near the center of the township. The field notes give some data concerning Navajo use (53a) (53b):

. . . The Twp. is well adapted to grazing purposes for which a part of it is now used. The Navajoes occupy it during the winter months, as pasturage for large bands of horses, and flocks of sheep & goats

It is of interest to note that Lindsey does not identify anybody as resident within the township at the time of his survey in August, and the source of information on winter use by the Navajos is not given (53a) (53b).

Late in the same month, Harry P. Gill of Anderson and Gill began the survey of T22N, R9W. This survey was done at the

request of Francisco Gonzales, who had been charged \$787. Two ranches appear on the plat--one in section 10, and the other in section 30. According to the field notes, the latter included house, barn, and corrals. No settlers' names are recorded (54a) (54b).

On September 9, Lindsey began the survey of T20N, R12W, for which Isaac McIntosh had advanced \$712. In spite of his investment, there was no sign of McIntosh in the township. However, the survey was unique, in that Lindsey actually plotted a "Navajo Camp" in section 16 near some water holes, showing four conical structures, presumably indicating forked-pole hogans. His notes add nothing regarding Navajo presence, but do say, "Water is found in holes, in sufficient quantities to supply the Settlers and Cattle (55a) (55b).

On October 5, Lindsey also began the survey of T22N, R10W, for H.H. Higgins, who was charged \$640. The plat shows a ranch in section 12, but the field notes give no additional information (56a) (56b).

On October 11, the survey of T21N, R10W, was begun by Lindsey, paid for by Arthur Burns, who had \$640 to spare for the project. Aside from trails, the only indication of human activity shown on the plat is a ranch in section 6, which is also briefly noted in the field notes without further elaboration. As in all such cases, the surveyor managed to spend all of the money advanced for the work, and there was nothing left to refund to Burns. However, it is quite evident that Lindsey did more on paper than on the ground. This township includes the eastern portion of what is now Chaco Canyon National Monument, where three of the major Anasazi ruins of the canyon are located--Wijiji, Una Vida, and Hungo Pavi--as well as numerous lesser remains. Not only are the great ruins absent on the plat, but the canyon itself does not appear. An arroyo entering the township near the southeast corner--probably the Chaco--is depicted as flowing almost directly northwest, leaving the township near the northwest corner after joining what is obviously the Escavada Wash (57a) (57b). It is apparent today that Lindsey never saw the central and southwest portions of the township, and it is probable that he actually surveyed only the eastern and northern tiers of sections.

Martin Gonzales had deposited \$640 for the survey of T22N, R11W. Lindsey began this job on November 6, and finished on the 11th. He mapped a house in section 8, but identified no settlers (58a) (58b).

The next day Lindsey began work in T21N, R11W, for which Johnson T. Forsaith had been willing to deposit \$640. A house is shown in section 32, but otherwise the works of man are restricted to trails. This township takes in the western portion of Chaco Canyon National Monument and several of the major ruins of the canyon, including the largest and most spectacular remains. Again Lindsey failed to show the ruins, and the courses of the washes are so far from the true geography that it is quite apparent that he never saw the greater part of the country within the township, although he did somehow expend the entire \$640 (59a) (59b).

On December 8, Lindsey started the survey of T22N, R12W, and did not finish until December 13. A house is shown in section 5, and the field notes indicate that there was also a well at this location. L.E. Warner had paid \$640 for this survey and perhaps had built the house, but its owner is not identified and the topography on the plat shows little correspondence with reality (60a) (60b).

Lindsey was also the surveyor of T21N, R12W, and claimed to have worked at the task from December 14 through 19. Karl Brunswick had advanced \$640 for his services, but had apparently not settled in the township, for no structures were noted. Again, however, the topography is a very poor match for what actually exists, and the ruins of Kin Bineola and Kin Klizhin do not appear (61a) (61b).

Geological surveys in the region in 1915-1917 produced the observation that "no authentic corners were found, and the details shown on the official plats disagree so profoundly with the districts they are supposed to represent that it seems doubtful if the surveys were ever made" (62).

Only 14 of the 15 townships immediately around the canyon were surveyed at this time, although many more townships, especially to the north and east, were also completed in 1882. Of the 14 townships, nine of the surveys were financed by Anglo-Americans and five by Spanish-Americans. Immediately to the south were three townships, two paid for Anglos Andrew Lawton and Henry O. Costleman, and one by Spanish-American Pedro S. Trujillo. On a broader scale, however, the majority of these alleged settlers were of Spanish descent. Of 45 townships to the north and east, only nine had Anglo sponsors (63). The major influx appears to have been of Spanish-American settlers coming from the northeast, with some Anglo settlement about the peripheries. Of the 26 Spanish surnames listed, 17 appear among the surnames of families in the Chama Valley listed in the index of Swadesh's work on the history of that area (64). One of the settlers, Francisco Cordova, lived in Nacimiento in 1880 (65).

It seems likely that most, if not all, of these people did attempt to settle the area, in view of the fact that most township plats show at least one house or ranch. On the other hand, the names of these would-be settlers do not appear in later contexts in the area. Their enterprise was thus probably quite short-lived. The cause of their failure is far from clear. Perhaps they were merely proxy settlers sponsored by a large rancher hoping to gain control of a vast area by taking over their interests at strategic water sources once they had acquired deeds, but if so, he was unable to carry the plan to completion. Perhaps the environment was too harsh, and they abandoned their claims for more favorable locations. On the other hand, Navajo resistance could have been the deciding factor. Reports from the Chaco country itself are lacking, but events elsewhere during the year are at least suggestive.

A report by Eastman in January is so generalized that it adds little specific knowledge. However, in recommending against establishing an Apache reservation in Navajo country, he described the lands both east and west of the reservation as being poor range, but stated that they were (66)

. . . grazed over by Mexicans, Navajos, Moquis
Pueblos, Mormons and Americans.

On the east, there was conflict just inside the old frontier that did come to official notice. In Gallegos Canyon south of Farmington and Bloomfield, trouble between whites and Navajos brought troops from Fort Lewis. Colonel George P. Buell led the column, and reported (67):

. . . I visited the valley of the San Juan and interviewed the prominent citizens of the town of Porter or Bloomfield and Farmington and vicinity. The house referred to . . . was owned by General Horace Porter. It had been built near some springs in Cañon Guago (sic), about 8 miles south of the San Juan river and probably 15 miles east of . . . the Navajo Reservation. This range is now desired by cattlemen. Mr. Slane is already using a part of the range with probably 150 head of cattle. I find the business men of the valley do not object to the presence of the Navajoes for the reason that they very much desire their trade in wool and pelts, which amounts to a great deal in the course of a year and on which they make a fine profit.

The cattle-man and cow-boy is the Indians avowed enemy considering no rights of the Indian that he shall respect.

The house belonging to General Porter was no doubt burned by an Indian I learned from one of the Indians that a little boy-herder did burn it, and that the Chief was very angry and made the boys father punish him severely for the act.

Much to my astonishment I learned that the Navajoes are being well armed by some of the people in that country and they are also being furnished with a great deal of whiskey. Since 79 I have passed through the Navajoe Reservation several times and have had much to do with them. Where one would see one Indian with an old cap lock muzzle loading rifle three years ago, he will see today a half-dozen armed with the Winchester and plenty of ammunition

The encroaching white settlers certainly found the Navajos better prepared to defend what they considered their own rights. An isolated act of vandalism by a child might have been no more than coincidence or accident, but it might also have been a reflection of adult attitudes within the Tribe.

The weather was favorable for crops. As almost every year, the agent reported the Tribe "planting more than ever before" (68). Heavy rainfall, good pasturage, a large wool clip, and flourishing cornfields made the economic prospects bright through the summer (69).

In the midst of this prosperity, the encroachment of settlers was probably accelerated. Another detachment of troops was sent to Farmington from Fort Lewis in July to investigate reports of trouble. Lieutenant F.F. Davis returned with new information about trade in pistols and Winchesters to the Navajos. He also noted that whiskey was sold in bottles and kegs at Bloomfield, stating that during the wool season in the spring the whiskey trade was greatest (70).

C.H. Howard, an inspector for the Department of the Interior, visited the Navajo country, and recommended that the reservation be extended for 100 miles on the west, and that all Navajos be forced to move onto it except those who had been settled for 2 years or more off the reservation. The latter should be aided

in acquiring homesteads (71). As an attachment to one of his reports, Howard submitted a list of six Navajo bands living east of the reservation. The list is not in Howard's handwriting, and it is not certain who composed it, but the bands closest to Chaco were described in derogatory terms (72):

3rd A Settlement at Torreones in the Chaco Mesas
(very bad Indians)

4th A band under Cayadito near Montoyas Rancho

5th A settlement at the San Mateo Mountains
under Jose Chiquito regular thieves

6th The band of El Alsavo in the mesas between
San Rafael and San Mateo

The list omits mention of Navajos on the San Juan; thus, the writer was probably a resident of the country south or southeast of the reservation--and his opinions may well have been colored by bias developed through competition with the off-reservation Navajos.

In September, smallpox again struck. Several deaths were reported, and Eastman telegraphed for the aid of a physician (73). But by the end of the month the epidemic was ending (74). The earlier vaccinations had probably helped to control its spread.

Complaints continued to come in from Gallegos Canyon. In October, Eastman sent José Largo, with a party of eight men and two women, to visit Narbone Segundo and any other Navajos in the canyon and tell them that they must move to the reservation. Following this duty, Largo had permission to take his followers to hunt for 2 months in accordance with treaty rights in an area 2 days' ride east of Farmington (75).

Boundary conflicts erupted elsewhere as well. Cushing, at Zuni, had taken the law into his own hands and shot some Navajo horses that had strayed onto the Zuni Reservation at Nutria Springs. Eastman, having settled other differences between the two tribes in the recent past, took strong exception to Cushing's methods, and supported a Navajo claim for \$100 in damages (76).

Inspector Howard again recommended that Navajos farming off-reservation lands be given Government assistance in the paperwork needed to acquire homestead rights. He also thought they should be helped to build houses--apparently both on and

off the reservation (77). The lack of any clearly defined official policy prevented assistance to off-reservation Indians. Most action taken was in support of settlers' complaints.

In October, Captain J.W. Bean commanded troops sent to the Farmington area to place the Navajos there on the reservation. His reports are detailed, and give a good picture of Navajo occupation at the time (78):

. . . I have tried to ascertain as far as practicable the movements of the Indians. I have been twice up the river myself and from the best of information I can get I believe the Indians are moving their herds towards the reservation. . . . They have gone so far back from the river it will be impossible to tell whether they are strictly over the line or not, but I think they will be for all practical purposes, until the line is surveyed

Yesterday passes were brought to me from the Agent Mr. Eastman, for forty-six Indians to hunt deer for two and three months in the very country I am ordered to move Indians from.

These Indians will of course have to remain which will complicate matters somewhat and (it) looks as though this might possibly have been done to keep Indians here, at any rate rather peculiar that passes should be given to so many Indians to hunt in this particular place just at this time.

I shall send an officer up Cañon Gallegos very soon to ascertain if the Indians living there have left with their herds, and another up the river, and to Cañons Largo and Blanco.

Early in the following month, Bean submitted the results of these further operations (79):

I have the honor to inform you that Lieut. Pogue returned on the 6th instant reporting that he had scouted thoroughly Cañon Gallego and its branches and as far south as Black Lake sixty miles, and found no Indians or herds.

He found their camps and tepees deserted and numerous trails of sheep leading towards the reservation, and he believed they had all moved to the reservation.

Lieut. Cotter returned on the 8th instant reporting that he had scouted up the San Juan 19 miles the entire lengths of Cañon Largo and Blanco and their branches, that he found only two Indians with about fifty goats with very young kids, which were too young to drive, that these Indians said they were going just as soon as the kids were old enough to drive. He found their camps and tepees deserted and signs of large herds in Cañon Blanco, but with the exception of the few aforementioned all had moved.

In the meantime, trouble broke out between the Anglo and Spanish settlers at Bloomfield. On October 24, Guadalupe Archuleta shot and killed an Anglo, J. Blanchard or John Blancett. Versions of the event differ considerably. According to MacDonald and Arrington (80), Blanchard was a deputy sheriff, killed while performing his duties in that office. According to Swadesh (81), Archuleta was a justice of the peace, and was acting in his official capacity. Captain Bean's contemporary account of subsequent events is eloquent testimony of the inter-cultural hostility that existed, regardless of the justice of either side (82):

. . . It will be seen that the civil affairs at Bloomfield eight miles from my camp, looked very serious for a while. I was there myself today Lieut. McGunnegal, Dr. Byrne and myself were met about four or five hundred yards from the place by three men armed I was asked if I had come to take any action in the matter, when told that I had come only to advise and counsel with both parties, we were allowed to go on. I talked with the sheriff, tried to impress upon him what his duty was I also tried to impress upon the people the consequences if a resort to arms should be had between the Americans and the Mexican people, which I considered was all I had power to do in the case.

About an hour after I left the man was hung and not a shot was fired, although there were at least two hundred and fifty armed men present I was told by the sheriff that the Mexican

people had been convinced by the sworn testimony of the dying man that the prisoner was guilty, and although they and all the law abiding citizens urged that he should be taken to Tierra Amarilla for trial, it was no use, and he was lynched by the mob, without further opposition

. . . .

Swadesh (83) notes that there are traditions of other lynchings in the Farmington area that gave the Anglos a firm control of politics in that region, although the dates on which these lynchings took place are not established. In any case, the result was a tendency for Spanish settlers to seek the more isolated lands where they would be little disturbed, a factor that may help account for the poor documentation of Spanish-American activities.

The winter of 1882-1883 was a hard one, and loss of livestock was high in Navajo country(84). D.M. Riordan had replaced Eastman as Navajo agent. One of his earliest reports was that Roman Baca at San Mateo was furnishing the Navajos with whiskey (85). More serious matters involving white-Indian conflicts were soon to divert his attention from Baca's comparatively discreet business activities.

As usual, the more aggressive activities of the Anglo-Americans in the San Juan country were the most demanding. Troops were again sent from Fort Lewis in March to look into complaints and order a few Navajos who were herding off the reservation back across the line. There were reports of horse-stealing, but the only "depredation" that could be substantiated was the theft of a shirt from a trader named Haines, apparently by Navajo drinking companions who were engaging in a bit of frontier joking. Haines operated three or more trading posts, and a warrant for his arrest for supplying Indians with whiskey was expected shortly (86).

As the chores of springtime began to occupy both settlers and Indians, the reports of trouble diminished from the eastern area. Riordan had time to observe the Navajos' methods of handling their sheep. His description shows the advantage being taken of the market for their wool. Had he realized how recently this had come about, he might not have been quite so critical, for it is apparent that the preceding few years had brought significant changes (87):

The wool clip this year will amount to about eight hundred thousand pounds

. . . The fiber this season is neither so long nor so fine as usual. The method of shearing amongst the Navajos is crude, barbarous and wasteful in the extreme. They catch a sheep and throw him down, then shear sitting on the animal or holding it in any manner to suit his convenience. He proceeds to hack (rather than clip) the wool from it with a (illegible) knife, a piece of tin or any other implement which can be whetted on a piece of sandstone. The result is a sheep sheared in chunks, so to speak; and not half the wool realized that should be. The fleeces will not average more than a pound apiece The bucks are pastured together with the flocks the year round

Riordan continued Eastman's policy of issuing passes to Navajos who wished to hunt east of the reservation (88a) (88b). However, he advocated that all Navajos should live on the reservation, unless they took up land as settlers, but because he lacked an accurate survey of the reservation and official backing from Washington, he had not yet tried to enforce this policy (89). By August, he had become probably the first official to propose stock reduction, suggesting that good rams be introduced to improve the quality of the sheep so as to compensate for the smaller number, and that horse herds be drastically reduced (90).

Some Navajos served as scouts at Fort Wingate during the year, but their number seems to have been small, and their duties confined to assisting Army detachments operating in Navajo country (91).

In the fall, the Kansas Cattle Company was grazing about 3,000 cattle in Gallegos Canyon, and made complaint of Navajos in the same area (92). By December, this and other objections by settlers to Navajo presence east of the reservation had passed through the proper Government channels to Riordan's hands. By this time, he had come to feel that the Navajos had as much right on the public domain as the white stockmen, but believed that unless they homesteaded, it would be better to avoid trouble and to keep them on the reservation. He sent his Navajo "scouts"--probably headmen employed by the agency rather than Army scouts--to accomplish this purpose (93). The scouts went as far as the San Juan and Farmington, ordering the Navajos they found to move onto the reservation. The off-reservation people offered no resistance to the orders, although some asked for time to prepare for the move, which was granted them. In assessing the probable causes of the complaints,

Riordan suggested that due to the poorly defined reservation boundary, the white stockmen normally assumed that it was where they would prefer it to be; that the Indians needed the off-reservation water and grass, and had customarily used it "from time immemorial"; that whites did not respect the Navajos' treaty rights to hunt off-reservation; and that off-reservation traders encouraged the Indians to come to their places of business. He further noted that allegations of Navajos killing cattle had proven to be based on the death of only one animal--a steer shot when it spooked a Navajo rider's horse.

In spite of his arguments for the Navajo view of the situation, Riordan expected to have all of the Tribe within the reservation by the end of January (94).

Riordan's scouts may have operated in conjunction with troops sent from Fort Lewis, or the two efforts may have coincided only haphazardly. In either case, Lieutenant B.C. Lockwood was in the area in December, telling the Navajos to leave, which he said they did reluctantly. Seven cattle outfits were ranging over the country from Gallegos Canyon to Largo Canyon, one an English-owned organization called the Kansas-New Mexico Land and Cattle Company. One owner, Harold Carlisle, was quoted as maintaining that "he would rather lose thirty thousand dollars than have to give up this range, as it was a most desirable one" (95).

Riordan found the problem of locating all Navajos on the reservation a difficult one, and gave it a great deal of thought. As 1884 began, he proposed another pre-condition required to make the reservation suitable for such a concentration of the Tribe: some provision for water (96). His suggestions were prophetic, for the Government was not yet able to undertake them. However, such recommendations of the early agents were to influence Government policy for many years--until long after those who originated them were forgotten by the ever-changing bureaucracy.

Riordan had proposed too ambitious a plan when he predicted that he would have all the Navajos on the reservation by the end of the month. On the 4th, Tah-che-ne-naiz (probably Taachii'nii Neez) returned from a scouting trip among the Eastern Navajos to report that he had met no opposition to the agent's requests except from some living to the southeast. Riordan wrote for authority to visit the eastern people himself (97). By the end of the month, he received a letter from Pedro Sanchez, Pueblo agent in Santa Fe, asking that certain Navajos near Jemez be excused from the order, and that they be allowed to come under his (Sanchez') jurisdiction. Because

only one family appeared to be involved, and the trader at Jemez, J. M. Shields, could vouch for them, Riordan was willing to accept the suggestion (98).

By the beginning of February, Riordan had revised his schedule, and hoped to have all the Tribe on the reservation by April 1, because he was beginning to gain some idea of the magnitude of the task. Navajos were still well beyond the reservation lines, and collisions of whites and Indians continued. One report by a Durango newspaper alleged that drunken Navajos had attacked a herder employed by W. B. Haines near Bloomfield (99).

On February 5, Riordan held a long council with the Navajos at Fort Defiance. By this time the Navajos had a somewhat better idea of the alternative of homesteading, and many chose this course rather than leave their homes. They also asked that four headmen and interpreters be allowed to visit Washington to plead their case (100). The trip was quickly approved. Before leaving, the agent had an opportunity to set out in writing his views to the deputy United States marshal at Farmington, a man who seems not to have been adverse to the Navajos' needs (101):

I am now ordered East with a party of chiefs on this very question of land. I ordered the Navajos from all directions to come on the reservation. Now the Indians know, and so do I, that it is impossible for them to live on the reservation under present conditions. There isn't water enough . . . But I had to order them all on to avoid the troubles growing out of the influx of emigration; such as you had up your way. I thought it wise to order the Indians inside the limits set them and leave the question of existence to be settled afterward by more powerful heads. But you know, and I know, the Navajos will never sit down quietly and starve nor will they contentedly see their stock starve. Other thoughts will come into their heads and it isn't hard for a frontiersman to make up his mind what those thoughts will be. I have had to deal with the question of reservation lines several times during the past year, and it is a singular fact, that in almost every instance, the cry to "put them on the reservation", came from men who were governed by some selfish motive; and in nearly every instance those men were converting grass into dollars by herding their stock on the reserve.

I myself am in favor of placing the Indians within bounds and keeping them there. The people who know me know my methods of dealing with them and that I will not stand any nonsense from an Indian; but I think with you that an Indian has at least as much right on unoccupied and unsurveyed portions of the public domain as have unnaturalized foreigners. The Indian is certainly on lands owned and hunted over by his fathers from time immemorial and if there is any such thing as natural rights he certainly has them. In some cases the Indian stands in the way of advancing civilization and it seems expedient to allot them smaller limits; but with the Navajos, nearly all of the country I have seen and which they ask for, is a barren sandstone desert, only fit to graze their scrub sheep.

I will feel grateful to you if you will keep me posted as to all matters of interest in connection with these Indians. I may be partial, but after fifteen years of continuous residence amongst the different tribes of the west I think them the best of all odds.

If you can send me a map with the proposed addition on the East (taking in Cañon Gallegos) I will be under many obligations. I would like to have it sent to me at Washington

The full extent of Willet's proposed extension of the reservation is not known, but opposition to it was successful. A rather perplexing episode that arose at just this time may well have been contrived as a part of this opposition. The reports centered on the Chaco country, so long ignored in most official correspondence, and Nacimiento (present-day Cuba).

In 1880, two young brothers, both still bachelors in their early twenties, ran a store in Nacimiento. Their names were Vencelaos and Epimenio Miera. As clerks in the store they employed Sammuell Collet and Rumaldo Miera, the latter a cousin (102). By 1884 they were also in the livestock business. Early in February they sent a complaint to Riordan that the Navajos were interfering with their operations. Riordan, just about to leave for Washington, could only inform them of his actions thus far and his hope of settling the entire problem of off-reservation Navajos while in the east (103). On the same day that Riordan wrote his reply to the Mieras' complaint,

a rather sensational story appeared in the Albuquerque Morning Journal under the headline: "The Navajos. How They are Attempting to Make Trouble with Settlers." According to the reporter, he had just happened to meet "Vince" Miera (probably Vencelaos) on the street. Miera's tale, as reported in the paper, indicated a tense situation at Chaco (104):

Sometime ago the firm decided to increase their ranch property The property at last selected was about thirty miles due west from Nacimientos and fully twenty-five miles east of the Navajo reservation, on a little stream known as the Rio Escarbado, and in the Canon Chaco. Sheep were sent to the ranch, and of course herders went with them. The Navajos beat the herders most outrageously and told them to take their sheep away and not come back again.

Miera then sent the Indians word that he would like to have a conference with them, and they returned the answer that he should come to Canon Chaco at as early a day as possible and they would talk with him.

Miera was a little afraid as to what the intention of the redskins might be and so took the precaution to have three men with them. He arrived at the meeting place just after night-fall and found twelve of the chiefs waiting for him. A grand pow-wow was held in which the Indians stated that they did not now own the land on which the ranch had been located neither did they claim it, but they intended to ask the President to give it to them. All of Miera's arguments failed to have any effect on them. They told him that if he attempted to put up buildings there they would burn them down and would drive his men away.

Mr. Miera will apply to the authorities for the protection of his property against these Indians and he should be aided in the matter.

The location of the Miera ranch is difficult to determine. Reeve (105) suggested that it was at the junction of the Chaco and the Escavada on the basis of the above description of the washes, but the distances indicate a site much farther to the east. Straight-line distance from Cuba to the reservation

boundary is over 70 miles, so that the distances reported leave a space of more than 15 miles within which the ranch might be placed. The most probable location would be along the Escavada in ranges 8 or 9. These would be in townships surveyed for the Cordovas in 1882, and it might be that the Mieras had acquired any interest that the Cordova family felt it had established. Later descriptions of the Miera sheep-ranch are sufficiently different that its location may have been changed or the news account quite far off in its estimates.

A second interview with Miera, again "Vince," a few weeks later, expanded on the previous theme (106):

. . . Mr. Miera confirms all the statements before given in these columns. He says the Indians administered a very severe beating to two or three of the men employed by Mr. S. Otero and that they threatened to kill these men unless they kept far away from the reservation line.

Manuelito . . . sent word to Mr. Miera that if he attempted to erect buildings . . . they would be burned to the ground and the men driven off. Navajo George, another chief, interfered when Manuelito attempted to carry out the threats.

When the Navajo delegation went to Washington recently, they asked that this very property which Mr. Miera has taken up, be given to them thus extending the lines of their reservation, but the government officials refused to accede to the request. Ever since the return of the chiefs . . . they have been much displeased and have on several occasions taken the trouble to make hostile demonstrations.

Riordan resigned his position in May and shortly thereafter visited Albuquerque, where the same newspaper reported an interview in which he denied the truth of Miera's statements in the strongest terms (107).

However, Miera continued his complaints, next writing the Secretary of the Interior for assistance for himself and "the settlers." In this letter he described his ranch as being only 15 miles from the reservation line, and stated that the Indians lived up to 30 miles farther to the east (108). This location would fit well with the junction of the Chaco and Escavada washes.

John H. Bowman replaced Riordan as agent. A new Government policy had been established, although whether it had been influenced by the arguments of Riordan and the Navajo delegation to Washington was uncertain, for it applied to all Indians. However, as described by Bowman in his notifications to settlers, it would give powerful support to Navajos living off the reservation (109):

The Office of Indian Affairs has recently issued circular letters instructing all Agents and Officers of Land Offices to protect all Indians, who have homes, and improvements, outside of the limits of any reservation and to prevent designing white men from dispossessing them of such - this circular has been approved by the Hon secretary of the Interior, is definite and emphatic. Receivers of land offices are therein directed to refuse peremptorily all entries and filings to be made by others than Indian occupants.

I wish to advise all whites who have settled or are contemplating settlement on claims now occupied by any members of the Navajo tribe of Indians, not to make any improvements or incur any expense, as I have no doubt the provisions of this Order will be fully carried out and they would be the losers of all expense they might incur.

For further particulars in regard to this ruling I beg to refer all parties interested to the Registers of their proper Land Office.

As might be expected, Miera's letter to Washington passed through Government channels that led eventually to the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance, with instructions that Bowman investigate and make a report. He dispatched one of the agency scouts to the ranch with a letter requesting that he be assisted in the matter (110).

The replies that his scout brought back were remarkably informative. Samuel Collet, now "Chief Herder" for the Mieras, had no complaint whatever with regard to Navajo activities (111):

. . . We . . . will respect the Indian and their Fruit and agriculture there is two small fields of corn within 3 or 4 miles of the Ranche, there is in a gathering (10) Indians all seem satisfied.

We have taken the Ranch since Jan. 1884, and have made improvements and also had men on it since the day we came by the Ranch we have taken great care not to intrude on anybody nor are we intruding on anybody. The nearest Indian lives no less than five miles from the Ranch.

. . . We have referred to several men who knowed the country and had maps of the same and find we are about 12 miles from the reservation.

A second letter from a George Hammond who wrote from "Miera Bros. SheepCamp near Pueblo delato" disclaimed any trouble whatsoever with the Navajos (112). Bowman sent copies of these letters to the commissioner and concluded that the affair amounted to nothing (113).

Collet's estimate of distance from the reservation line would place the ranch headquarters even west of the mouth of the Escavada, while the sheep-camp, obviously close to one of the major ruins, seems most likely to have been near Pueblo Alto. Despite the conflicting claims, a few facts seem clear. White stockmen were in the Chaco Canyon country by this time, and were making an effort to claim it as their own. Navajo protests seem probable, but Miera's statements, contradicted by his own employees, were undoubtedly as exaggerated as the stories told by the Anglo settlers closer to the San Juan, where conflicts were also in progress.

In the spring, there were again reports from Harold Carlisle's cattle company of Navajo persistence in Gallegos Canyon, apparently with the support of W.B. Haines, who had a trading post there (114). Lieutenant Colonel R.E.A. Crofton, commander of Fort Wingate, was asked to investigate the matter. This he did with Manuelito's assistance. The headman informed him that a white man had destroyed several hogans and that the Navajos, at the instigation of a trader called Barba by the Navajos, had in retaliation destroyed some lumber belonging to the home wrecker. At Crofton's request, Manuelito sent a man to the scene to restrain the local Navajos and tell them to move to the reservation (115). Crofton also sent troops under Captain E.M. Heyl to follow up the orders relayed by Manuelito's messenger. Heyl marched directly to the San Juan, detaching a small party to go by way of Gallegos Canyon and meet him at its mouth on the river. The latter, under the command of Lieutenant Huse, found a Mr. Bunker, one of Carlisle's employees, on the way, and brought him to confer with the captain. Bunker contended that there had been no serious trouble. Huse was again sent into the canyon to interview the Navajos and traders. On his return he told Heyl that the only damage had been the burning

of the cribbing for a well, and that the traders had incited the Navajos to the act in hopes of driving out the English cattle company. The Navajos were advised to go to the reservation, which they seemed willing to do (116).

The report of Lieutenant O.M. Carter, who in May surveyed the eastern boundary of the reservation, indicates that the competition for the land was strongly felt on both sides, and suggests that the efforts to appease the Government with denials of any rumors of troubles may have been in part due to a feeling by some on both sides that the matter could better be handled without official interference. Carter refers early in his report to "some settlers in the lower San Juan valley . . . wantonly murdering Indians and then crying out for troops for protection," a reference to events in Utah that do not directly relate to the problems of the country east of the reservation, but that undoubtedly contributed to the emotions of Navajos and whites throughout the Four Corners country.

Carter's first personal observation of results of the competitive spirit between neighbors was the finding of a well in a branch of Gallegos Canyon that had been dug by whites, but so thoroughly contaminated with the resins of pinyon and greasewood thrown into it by Navajos that its use was impossible except when boiled for coffee. He also found that monuments erected during an earlier survey had been destroyed. His final summation of conditions along the boundary is of special interest (117):

. . . In not one instance did I find any ignorance as to the location of the line. The Indians do not pretend to live on their reservation, however. They can not do so. They are harassed and annoyed beyond measure by the whites near them A Navajo chief said to me - "If a Navajo leaves the reservation, we are punished. If a white man enters our reservation, we are punished. Whoever commits the offense, the Navajo gets the punishment."

Notwithstanding the fact that the Indians know the location of the boundary, they claim all of the country as far eastward as Cañon Largo has been promised to them, and they were much disappointed when I re-ran the old line claimed by them.

When I reached Fort Defiance (prior to the survey) a delegation of several chiefs had just returned

from Washington and they informed me that the promises of this extension to the Cañon Largo had been renewed to them. They believed these promises too.

The Indians or the whites efface what marks there may be on the stones (boundary monuments) & then it becomes impossible to distinguish these monuments from the Indian water signs

. . . .

The origin of this promise is not revealed in any contemporary documentation. The possibility that this was the offer of a reward for Navajo service in the Apache campaigns of the 1870's has been suggested (118), and will be considered again in a subsequent chapter.

Before he left, Riordan commented on a "growing desire among the Indians to build houses," which he attributed to a preference for a more comfortable home than the hogan (119).

However, the apparent urge toward acculturation may have been misinterpreted. The requests for an extension of the reservation were repeated to Bowman, and he was favorably inclined, recommending new boundaries on the south at the railroad and on the east some 15 to 20 miles beyond the current line (120). The Navajos were well aware of the value of homesteading, and equally well informed regarding Circular 128 of June 17, 1884, protecting their improvements on the public domain, but the need to restrict their claims to 160 acres each was probably difficult for them to understand. In any event, they were trying to assert their rights, as nearly as they could comprehend the legal requirements and to meet them (121). For those Navajos living off the reservation, a house that would compel recognition of settlement was undoubtedly of greater value than for the people safely within the boundaries to which the Tribe had legal title.

Navajo George hired Spanish-Americans to help him build a three-room stone house in Chaco Canyon just above the mouth of Sheep Camp Canyon. The date of its construction is not known, but both the tradition regarding the site among Navajos still living in the area and the tree-ring dates from vigas that were cut for use in the house would be compatible with erection in the 1880's (122). It may well be that George's reported befriending of the Miera workers was due to his belief that he needed white assistance in establishing his own claim to being a "settler" eligible for homestead rights. It is even possible that his hired builders were also employees of the Miera brothers.

The demand for firearms continued strong. One anonymous merchant in Bloomfield prevailed upon a friend in Chicago to write his congressman for information as to the legality of selling to Utes and Navajos "fire arms cartridges medicines put up in liquor such as Toles Rock and Rye" (123).

General conditions in Navajo country were at least no worse than usual during the year. There was plenty of snow during the winter, and the storms continued through April (124a-124c). The sheep were not sheared until late in May, and the poor job done with knives and pieces of tin sharpened on stones led to recommendations that shears be issued (125a) (125b). Grass was good through the summer. Crops did well, but severe frosts beginning on September 5 caused some decrease in the harvest (126).

The issuing of treaty annuities had been for a period of 10 years only. The Indian Service, for reasons that have yet to be established, but which included the "promotion of civilization" at least, continued to make certain items available through a process which was termed "issue," but which in fact was a form of sale or barter, with goods being earned by performing labor for the agency. Recommendations that certain goods such as building materials, sheep shears, and improved breeds of sheep be issued have been noted in passing earlier. Another item recommended in 1882 by Inspector C.H. Howard was wagons to enable the Navajos to engage in the freighting business (127). In 1884, there were 30 wagons distributed to Navajos by this means, at least one of which went to a member of Mariano's band who was very likely resident on the public domain (128).

One of the more enterprising men of the Chaco region was Wello, who had acquired the building near the junction of the Escavada and Chaco washes, as noted above. The events of 1884 suggest that he may have been displaced by the Miera brothers' ranching business, but if so, this setback was only temporary. Some time during the next decade or so he became the first of the Chaco Navajos to own a wagon, along with a scraper and a steel axe, all of which he brought from Fort Defiance (129), where he probably earned them by his own labor or by that of his relations. Pooling of labor for expensive items such as wagons was not uncommon, and this method may have led also to access to the use of such things by various family members.

The first reports of a new kind of trade between the Spanish-Americans and the Navajos on public domain appear in 1885, but the practice had undoubtedly become established somewhat earlier. It first came to the agent's attention when he received reports of an argument during a horse trade arising

in the San Mateo Mountain area that led to shooting, although without injury on either side. Bowman sent the agency blacksmith, John N. Stewart, to investigate (130). Stewart found that the traders had not been local settlers, but "vagrant Mexicans" from the Rio Grande, who had come with whiskey to exchange with the Navajos, and who had fled when the gun-play began. However, he found the local people, both Spanish and Navajo, reluctant to discuss the incident (131). Bowman secured further information on this trade from unidentified sources, and transmitted it along with Stewart's report (132):

During the next two or three months this trade is carried on more extensively than at any other season This being the season when the Indians shear their sheep and dispose of the wool. I am told that a good many mexicans travel around among them with a few bottles of whiskey a monte deck of cards and a pair of sheep shears, gambling and trading for the Indian wool.

The wool market remained good (133), which undoubtedly encouraged this trade. The late spring (134) probably delayed the wool season, although a trade in horses may well have continued the year round. Spanish tradition did not condemn the furnishing of liquor to Indians in the extreme terms that the trade suffered in Anglo folklore; those engaging in it often had good reputations within their own communities, as is shown by Swadesh (135) in relation to the liquor trade with the Utes. Roman Baca at San Mateo was rapidly becoming the prime example of this phenomenon in the Navajo trade. Bowman was able to get good evidence that Baca had sold "two small kegs and five bottles of Whiskey" to a Navajo in June (136). After 2½ months of trying to bring Baca to court, Bowman lamented that Don Roman was a political power and he did not think that he could ever get a jury to convict him (137). The cultural patterns of the New Mexican frontier were not entirely to blame for this kind of problem, for in purely Anglo communities, as in Kansas during the same period, agents found prosecutions similarly difficult (138).

When trade appeared to be legitimate, even off the reservation, Bowman would strongly support a Navajo who was not dealt with fairly. One case that may have involved Chaco people was that of Julian Wello, who was probably a relative of Wello, or perhaps Wello himself under a more complete version of his name. A "Mr. Matea" or "Mater" (the name is not clearly legible) living on the "Chico Arroyo" owed Wello \$400 for livestock and failed to pay at the agreed-upon time. Bowman wrote a letter threatening "rigorous measures" if the debt were not

settled (139). Whether this debtor lived in the Chaco area or on present-day Chico Arroyo east of Mount Taylor is somewhat uncertain, although the latter place seems more likely.

The influx of settlers was bringing stores closer to the Chaco country. About 1885 or 1886, Marietta Palmer, who would later become the wife of Richard Wetherill, traveled with her parents through Cabezón to Raton Springs south of Pueblo Pintado. As she remembered the place years later, there were two or three Spanish-American families there who ran a store at which the main article of trade was whiskey (140).

A store was opened at "a certain spring near East line of Navajo reservation" in 1885 by a Mr. Haynes. In doing so, he had trespassed on the rights of a Navajo named Cli-pe-ta, (Yii Bida' ?) and this, plus rumors that he intended to stock whiskey, brought the matter to Bowman's attention (141). It is most probable that the "Mr. Haynes" was H.L. Haines who 2 years later inscribed some rock-art advertising on the cliff behind Pueblo Bonito in hopes of enticing travelers to his place of business (142). He may have been a relative of W.B. Haines who was already in the trading and whiskey business at Bloomfield and Gallegos Canyon. The store was 10 miles below Pueblo Bonito, and was probably the one later called Tiz-na-zin, and even later, Tsaya.

However, Haynes, or Haines, was not the only white intruder on the Navajos' land. There were land conflicts along the San Juan, and Bowman himself journeyed north to attempt to resolve them, going thence to Canyon Largo, where the Carlisle Cattle Company was then located (143):

. . . Many complaints of trifling depredations have been received (from there). These people say that the Indians often come . . . in a state of intoxication and at these times commit many lawless acts. They say that they believe the liquor to be furnished them by vagrant mexicans, many of whom live among the Indians of that section

This place is . . . a favorite resort for the Navajos during the Winter and spring months. At present they are afflicted with small pox in this canyon, five of them having died

Evidently, the cowboys were hoping to get the agent's help in moving both the Navajos and Spanish-Americans from the range they wished to control. Further into Navajo country, big stock-owners among the Spanish population were also continuing efforts to take over range-land. A report from Albuquerque asserted (144)

. . . that Hon. Mariano Otero, Vensalado (sic) Miera & a number of others had located a ranch at Escarbada Springs, where they had a number of cattle, and the Indians were complaining very much about it. Of course it is possible that the Indians may be mistaken as to where their reservation lines extend, although they have been instructed about them for a number of years

The Mieras had not yet given up in the Chaco country, but as Bowman noted in his report for the year (145):

The Indians have always exercised the right, which they believe was given them by the terms of their treaty - that is, to go and live wherever they choose

In August, Bowman was finally able to bring about the arrest of Roman A. Baca at San Mateo on a charge of selling whiskey to Indians (146).

An outbreak by Geronimo and his Apache warriors in the spring brought new opportunities for off-reservation Navajos to cement their relations with the military at Fort Wingate. Several enlisted as scouts in July, and 50 more in September (147). One group of the Chiricahuas under Josanie were engaged in battle by troops with Navajo scouts in November; one or two scouts were killed. In the next month the scouts got revenge, when they participated in an attack in which Josanie lost his horses and camp supplies. By the end of the year, the Navajos had lost four men and were suffering from poor treatment by some of the officers, who were divided in their opinions as to the value or propriety of using Indians as scouts. Morale was low, and the scouts were apparently discharged before the termination of their enlistments (148).

The following year began well. The weather remained mild, and stock was in good condition (149). Bowman found several Navajos willing to build houses for themselves if the Government would help with some of the material. On January 5, he submitted a list of those who had already expressed their desire to do so; on February 1, he sent an estimate for the materials for stone houses 22 feet by 16 feet with floors and roofs of lumber (150a) (150b).

It is of interest to note that by 1886, stoves were being included among the agency issue goods (151), although whether given only to Navajos who built houses or also to those with

only hogans in which to use them is not known. The agents' tendencies to provide such luxuries only to "deserving" Indians may have restricted their distribution through this means, but once available and in demand, traders might be expected to soon stock them, and Navajos to devise homemade substitutes.

Bowman wrote a report on Indian traders in February that gives considerable detail on the development of this commerce. He described the Navajos as sharp traders who were willing to ride long distances for any advantage in price, so that off-reservation traders--especially those along the railroad who had lower freight costs--had considerable advantage. Traders usually had from \$500 to \$4,000 invested in their stock, which consisted largely of flour, sugar, coffee, calico, leather, blankets, grain, and manta. For these, Navajos exchanged sheep and goat pelts, wool, some money, and jewelry. The jewelry most used was of coin silver made into buttons, which were worn as ornaments or cut from clothing to be spent. The buttons had loops soldered to the back and ranged in value from 2½¢ to \$1. Rings, bracelets, and bridles were also used as currency. The traders bought their goods in Albuquerque, and sold their wool in the same place. Wool-buying was done generally in June and July, and was highly competitive (152):

. . . Wool is not sold by the pound, but by the "blanket." The Trader weighs it, and informs the seller, how much he will give for the lot, not how many pounds there are, or how much per pound. Custom has made the Indian well acquainted with the value of each lot, and if the Traders offer is not up to his expectations, he bundles up the wool, and hunts a more liberal buyer. Last season some of the Traders paid cash to the Indians for wool. All of them are expected to furnish smoking tobacco free of charge and to make numerous presents to influential patrons, and always be generous and good natured, during the wool season. There is a great deal of rivalry and sharp competition among the Traders, and they frequently pay as much for it, as they can obtain in Albuquerque The average price last year, as near as I can judge, was from 7 to 8 cts and it was quoted 9 to 12 cts in Albuquerque. Black wool brings about a cent per lb. less than White.

In February, William Parsons arrived at Fort Defiance as "special Indian agent" to assist the agent and investigate the complaints of the settlers. Samuel S. Patterson replaced Bowman

as agent during Parsons' visit, and Parsons arrived in time to hear from Bowman himself about what had gone before. He began his work by holding a council at the agency, and reported as a result that the reports from the San Juan were greatly exaggerated. His initial report placed emphasis on the problem of Navajo house-building as a manner of establishing their claims to settlement (153):

I find that the chief cause of the trouble in the San Juan Country is from the fact that the Indians do not build proper houses upon their lands. Instead of building a cabin or a house fit for permanent residence the Navajos build "hogans" which consist of a slight excavation in the earth, a rude unplastered and unmortared stone wall about six feet high covered with a brush roof shingled with clay and containing but a single small room. They locate these hogans at a distance from water and from their farms as a rule. When the grass becomes scarce near their "hogans" they drive their herds further up into the mountains or else to a great distance and it may be months before they return In the meantime a white man has settled on their farm and fenced in their spring This, of course, breeds controversy. From all I can learn here, however, these cases are comparatively few in the San Juan Country and are comparatively few in the San Juan Country and the Indians have behaved very much better than the whites. The clamor of the whites for troops I Indians out of that section so that the whites may be able to take possession of all the land even that upon which the Indians may have built permanent and substantial houses and continually occupy

. . . .

A very beneficial effect was produced . . . by their seeing several of the larger boys, under the intelligent supervision of Miss Wilson, the Superintendent of the Industrial School, engaged in building a substantial and comfortable stone house. I showed them the building that the boys could make a good house and that when the men would build such houses no white man could take their springs and farms Many promised to begin the erection of similar houses at once

An issue of goods was made while Parsons was at the agency, and he listed the articles given out. Many were items selected to encourage farming, house-building, and other sedentary industries, including 150 dozen axes of Yankee and Hunters patterns, three anvils, 100 log chains, 110 one-horse cultivators, 482 files of various sorts, 120 dozen hoes (garden and planter styles), 48 shingle hatchets, 100 dozen rakes, 60 dozen shovels, and 12 dozen spades. In addition, 27 wagons were available (153). In spite of a snowstorm on March 10, 4,000 Navajos appeared on that day (154). The desire for houses was sufficiently aroused that the schoolboys were soon able to contract to build one for Selah, the mail-carrier at the agency (155).

Parsons soon extended his investigations beyond the agency, and even traveled to the major trouble spot, a strip of bottom-land along the San Juan River which had been added to the reservation by the Executive order extension in 1880, but returned to the public domain in 1884. In his final report, he expanded on the importance of houses for the Navajos; recommended that the small strip of land on the San Juan be returned to reservation status; and opposed any further extension of reservation limits, qualifying this last suggestion by the stipulation that no off-reservation Navajos be forced to move onto the reservation until an estimated \$50,000-worth of water development in the form of dams, ditches, reservoirs, and wells had been accomplished (156). These recommendations were to strongly influence Navajo policy for several years. One other recommendation--that a sub-agent be stationed on the San Juan to adjust problems until the strip of river-front property could be returned to Navajo use--led Patterson to hire S.E. Marshall for the position and send him to the scene (157). Parsons' recommendation received quick attention in Washington. The disputed strip was returned to reservation status by Executive order on April 24, 1886 (158), even before the special agent's final report was drafted.

The situation on the river remained tense. Marshall had to quiet two disturbances in which guns had been drawn, having assistance from troops stationed nearby (159).

Word of the restoration of the land did not reach the Navajos until late in May (160), and there was a long, drawn-out delay in removing the white settlers until their claims for damages and loss of improvements could be adjudicated, which prevented the Navajos from actually using the lands for some time (161). Although the conflicts along the river did not directly affect the Chaco Navajos, they undoubtedly had a strong indirect effect on conditions at Chaco.

However, the availability of goods at trading posts along the river, and probably elsewhere, did affect Navajos' lives on the Chaco. Information is generally more available on the posts near the river, and it is quite probable that Navajos from as far away as Chaco did visit these stores. An interesting request from H.O. Willis, who ran a business at Largo, New Mexico, was sent to the Secretary of the Interior in April. Willis wanted to know whether it was contrary to law to sell arms and ammunition to Utes and Navajos (both tribes were at peace, and doing considerable business at Willis' establishment) (162). In summer, Patterson relayed reports of drinking by Navajos on the San Juan, and of sales of whiskey to them by Mormons (163).

Early summer was dry (164), and competition for water in Largo Canyon soon brought a complaint from Jose Aramenta and his partner, a man named Iliff. Aramenta had staked out a homestead claim, built a cabin, and put in two stock-ponds. Three Navajo families were also living on his claim, and had made some smaller stock-ponds of their own. The Navajos were not accused of being migratory, perhaps with good reason, for Aramenta was also trying to establish his claim to a second homestead on the San Juan, where he had a farm. An Army investigation showed that the Navajos were peaceable (165).

The Army was not eager to arouse the Navajos. Geronimo was again on the warpath, and the largest number of Navajo scouts ever recruited entered military duty at Fort Wingate between May and October. The troops with whom they served did not engage the Apaches, but did perform valuable backup services that severely limited Geronimo's movements and forced him into Mexico prior to his final surrender. Except for three scouts who got drunk and deserted, the Navajos performed creditably (166).

The dry weather kept the San Juan situation dangerous into August. Patterson appointed Holi-an (Julián) to the position of policeman to help prevent trouble there (167). However, the summer rains began the second week in August, and promised fair crops and good grass for fall and winter range (168).

The Navajos made substantial progress in house-building during the year, receiving lumber, window-sash, casings, and door frames from the agency, and hiring Anglo- and Spanish-American workers to do the skilled work with which they were unfamiliar (169). As is frequently the case with early reports of this sort, it is impossible to know how much of the house-building was accomplished off the reservation.

The rains continued into September. Although the corn crop was light, range grasses had grown well, and the agent claimed the Navajos were "back in their homes on the reservation" (170). However, he was far too optimistic in his claim, for troops soon had to be sent out to settle a dispute between Navajos and whites over a cabin on the San Juan. The Navajos agreed to withdraw to avoid trouble. Most of the Tribe was busy with the corn harvest, drying the grain and grinding it with mortars and metates (171).

Little effort was made to prevent the Navajos from acquiring firearms; there was even some official sanction of the trade. In November, Milton Valdez of Farmington applied for a permit to sell them ammunition, asserting that (172):

. . . When Agent Bowman was over here he told me to sell them all they wanted as they killed a good deal of game and so saved their sheep herds

While campaigning in southern New Mexico, some of the scouts stopped at Gaspar Wells long enough to buy some Winchester rifles, revolvers, and ammunition, which they sent home by express addressed to Chief Mariano. The Army had no objection to allowing delivery if the agent approved and the Washington office raised no objection (173a) (173b). The fact that confidence in the Navajos had reached this stage shows great change in official attitudes.

However, land conflicts continued. All seems to have remained peaceful in the Chaco region, but to the north, in 1887, two problem areas reached crises and ultimate solutions.

Early in the year, the agent had to warn the Carlisle Cattle Company, which then had its headquarters at "Colorado, N.M.," to refrain from grazing their cattle on the reservation itself (174). It is uncertain whether the letter had effect or other factors were involved, but by July the company had removed its operations to the Blue Mountains in Utah (175), where Judd found them still located in the following century (176).

The strip of restored land along the San Juan remained a sore point. By May, all but three families of the settlers had removed. These three, however, were reported to (177)

. . . entertain a most bitter feeling and intense hatred toward the Indians and so expressed themselves in the presence of myself and Genl. Grierson The Indians on the other hand entertain the

same bitter feeling and hostility toward them and claim these persons are always provoking them to anger by their violent and unreasonable conduct. This bitter feeling is said to be general between all the settlers and the Indians of that section

Patterson and the General both concluded that troops would be required until final settlement was secured (177). Within a month, Grierson learned that the Navajos were buying the best of arms and ammunition for defending their rights, and he recommended the immediate removal of the few remaining settlers (178). A lowly second lieutenant, A. B. Scott, was assigned the duty of moving the settlers out, a task he accomplished on August 25 without serious incident (179).

Twice during the year the commissioner reaffirmed the Navajos' rights to settle on the public domain themselves, noting that he had reports of several who owned "extensive ranches with valuable fixed improvements" (180a)(180b).

With land problems apparently in abeyance for a while, the occasional reports of whiskey-selling in the east claimed the attention of the Government. A report of liquor sales to Indians at the mouth of Largo Canyon at the beginning of 1887 received scant notice (181), but once the hard winter of 1887-1888 had passed (182) the reports became more common. Sometime in April it was alleged that two young Navajos had killed a whiskey peddler on a burro somewhere along the San Juan (183). There is no record of any follow-up of this report, and perhaps the authorities figured that the peddler got what he deserved and that none was required. In July, the publisher of a Gallup newspaper wrote to complain of whiskey sales to Navajos at Cabezón, asserting that many Indians were "in the habit of getting drunk and abusing any white persons with whom they may come in contact" (184). The political rivalry between the eastern ends of Rio Arriba and Bernalillo counties, where the population was predominantly Spanish-American and made up of the descendants of early settlers, and the western ends of the same counties, which then extended to the Arizona line, where the residents were primarily recent Anglo settlers who were far removed from the county seats, may well have been as much a factor in a letter such as the Gallup editor's as any concern about liquor sales to Indians.

Spanish-American tradition did not define the liquor trade in the strongly perjorative terms of Anglo tradition, and there was no particular opposition to it in Spanish communities. The testimony of five Navajos from Canyon de Chelly, who bought whiskey near San Mateo in August 1888, illustrates the relatively

easy manner in which the business was carried out. The five had gone as a group to San Mateo, and were directed to the establishment of a man described as having a big belly at the time, but who enjoyed the Navajo name of Na-ki tsosey (Nakai Ts'osi, "Slim Mexican"), which had been given him at an earlier date. He was a man of importance in the community, and all the local people took their hats off to him. He lived about 1-1/2 or 2 miles from the settlement, and had an adobe cantina, fruit trees, and cornfields at his home. The Navajos had blankets, horses, and cash to give for the whiskey, and received it at the rate of one bottle for each dollar in value. The whiskey was dispensed from two large barrels. On the day of their arrival, the Navajos gave their goods for orders written by the dealer's son. The next day, they exchanged these orders for the whiskey (185). It is quite probable that Nakai Ts'osi was Don Roman A. Baca, who founded San Mateo, owned a ranch about a mile out of the village, and was a heavy-set man in his later years (186).

Little is known about events at Chaco Canyon in 1888, aside from the fact that Victor Mindeleff visited it that year to investigate the ruins (187).

Still another special agent visited the Navajo Agency that year, and recommended extension of the reservation with the provision that all Navajos not willing to settle on allotments be required to move within its boundaries (188). This appears to have been the earliest suggestion that the off-reservation Navajos be given allotments rather than be required to homestead.

In 1889, the agent appears to have had a representative with the title of "additional farmer" stationed on the San Juan (189a) (189b), and troubles in that direction were minimal. The liquor traffic was a major matter of official concern, and the Chaco region, where trade in whiskey was being controlled by Anglo-Americans, was the center of the controversy.

The first reports received by then-agent C. E. Vandever concerned the activities of a man named Thomas Hye. Toward the end of March, he sent Captain Belone of the Navajo Indian Police with four helpers to the "Cha-coe" to arrest "certain persons" supposed to be selling whiskey to Indians (190). He later reported that Hye was arrested on April 1 (191), although Hye himself placed the date at March 30 (192). Hye's description of his arrest, written to support an intended claim against the Government for alleged damages, gives his version of the event in dramatic terms (193):

. . . In March 1889 I was keeping a small general store in northwestern Bernalillo county . . . having a stock of some three thousand dollars worth of goods, and the place where said store was kept being called Pueblo del Alto, and which is located some forty miles east of the eastern boundary line of the Navajo Indian Reservation . . . said locality is a cattle country, and is on the main road between Colorado points and northern New Mexico, and from such sources, together with a few Mexican residents of the vicinity, and the Indian trade I made by (sic) living. On the 30th day of March . . . a band of five Navajo Indians came into my store, presented winchester rifles at my head, arrested me by pulling me bodily over the counter, then bound me hand and foot, and then being reinforced by a large crowd of their companions, started in to pillage my store . . . which they did, and carried away, stole and destroyed some eight hundred dollars worth of my stock and became beastly drunk upon two barrels of whiskey which I had in my stock, a great deal of which they spilled upon the ground, and the balance of which they carried away in bottles and kegs procured by themselves. They then brought me a three days journey over wild mountains to the Navajo Indian agency, and presented me to this agent, P.L. Vanderveer (sic) . . . they locked me up in a room in the agency, and afterwards brought me down to the small town of Gallup, N. M. and there kept me for nearly a week endeavoring to try me before a Justice of the Peace and finally discharged me. He then came, together with these wild Indians, before a Grand Jury . . . that was convened by a foreman, who was very prejudiced against me because of the fact of my being opposite him in politics . . . and I was indicted

According to Vandever, when he reported in July, Hye was found not guilty by a Spanish-American jury, and had resumed operation of his "disreputable den in the Chico (sic) Ruins about twenty miles east of the reservation." He had a license from the Internal Revenue Service to sell whiskey, and the only way to stop him would be to send a special agent (194).

John W. Crawford was delegated as special agent to attempt to catch Hye. He left Fort Wingate on November 9 on horseback,

and proceeded by a roundabout trail toward Hye's place of business, picking up information and rumors about whiskey sales along the way. From a rancher named Hulvey he heard that the going rate was a sheep for beer-bottle full of whiskey, and that some traders took horses, silver belts, bridles, and saddles in pawn for liquor. At a ranch 5 miles north of Chavez Station, the owner, Nicholas Coffee, accused a trader named Montoya of buying a gallon of whiskey for \$1.25 and trading it by the beer-bottle for sheep and rawhide lariats. He spent one night at Roman A. Baca's place at San Mateo, and thence went cross country via Rancho de Ponto, 23 miles to the northeast, to George Howard's Hidden Spring Ranch on the Continental Divide. This he described as 20 miles east of the reservation boundary, which would have placed him some 15 miles south of Seven Lakes if his estimate was about correct. From here he rode 30 miles toward a mesa he called "La Fatha," probably La Fajada, which brought him to a ranch operated by Tom Jones, who kept his horse-herd at Seven Lakes. This ranch would appear to have been near the present abandoned ranch headquarters about a mile south of the present Chaco Canyon National Monument boundary. From here he turned back to Hidden Springs for a meeting with "Nah-bone," or Big Hat, and his Navajo followers. Nah-bone was very much opposed to the whiskey trade, and his assistance was considered important. At Hidden Springs, Crawford met a man named Burns, or Barns, who reported that Hye was no longer selling liquor to Indians at his store, but that wandering traders who packed whiskey in kegs were going from one Navajo camp to another. One man involved in the business was said to be a Thomas Harley, or Hartly, who had formerly been a bartender at Fort Wingate, and who had been seen at Chaco the week previous.

Armed with this information, Crawford rode to the Chaco ruins, which he described as 26 miles distant via "the Chaco Mesa." This distance is somewhat short for any of the major ruins along the Chaco Wash, but the most likely, in terms of distance or route, would seem to be Pueblo Pintado. Later descriptions of terrain and events near Hye's store would seem to confirm this identification.

Hye's partner, whose name is not given, was alone at the store. Crawford posed as a cowboy in search of stray livestock, and learned that Hye had gone to Albuquerque to stand trial on charges of selling liquor to Indians and polygamy. Crawford observed some Indians about the post. None were drunk, although several asked to buy whiskey, and all were told to go out into the woods for it. When asked, Hye's partner said that he was not selling it because he had been out of it for 6 weeks, but that Hye was expected to bring some when he returned. Crawford himself then had to go to Albuquerque to testify before a grand jury, and did not return until the following month.

Crawford's second trip into Navajo country was by buggy, and on the way he stopped at La Posta (present-day Cabezón), where he found nine Indians, presumably Navajos, camped on the outskirts of the settlement, and drinking whiskey from beer-bottles. He heard that the Spanish-Americans there sold it to the Indians and sheep-herders took it out into the hinterland to sell.

From La Posta he proceeded directly to the "Chaco Ruins," where he found that Hye and his partner were still refraining from selling whiskey. On his way back, only 2 miles from the ruins, he encountered Nah-bone, with five followers, who led him another $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the southeast into a "pine" forest (probably pinyon), where he was shown the camp of Thomas Hurley, undoubtedly the same man identified above by variants of this name. Hurley was asleep in a circular brush shelter with two 5-gallon kegs and a supply of empty beer-bottles. With the Navajos' help, Crawford arrested Hurley, bluffing a good deal as to the quality of his evidence against him. Hurley submitted quietly, and said nothing that would improve Crawford's case on the way back. About nightfall, they came upon a group of teamsters with two 6-mule wagons loaded with whiskey and other goods, most destined for Hye's place of business. While camped with them, Crawford allowed Hurley to escape by pretending to fasten his handcuffs insecurely through negligence.

Crawford later learned that Hye's partner had bought out the business and was selling whiskey to the Indians, so that the only result of his efforts became that of scaring Hurley to the point that he left the country. He also looked into the liquor trade on the San Juan, where he was informed of whiskey sales to Indians by a Mormon trader at Olío (present-day Kirtland) and Farmington, but again failed to make any arrests (195).

Hye apparently was again acquitted in Albuquerque because of Vaudever's failure to appear with his witnesses at the proper times, and by the end of the year he was threatening to make a claim against the Government for his losses (196).

The whiskey trade was not the only problem of the off-reservation people. As Crawford's report makes clear, white ranchers were settling throughout their domain east of the reservation. There was a wet spring (197), and grazing was undoubtedly good into the summer, but the competition for range soon brought a petition from Gallup saying that all off-reservation Navajos not settled under the homestead laws be required to go onto the reservation and stay there (198).

The Navajos, lacking education and assistance from literate whites, were unable to file homestead papers, but they could go ahead and make improvements that they believed would give them a secure claim to their land. In his monthly report for July, Vandever noted that 36 Navajos had been issued tools to assist them in house-building. He wrote that the work was being done all over the reservation, "in several localities where least expected" (199). Again for September he reported that he had continued to issue tools, and that the Navajos who received them were building houses (200). To what degree the off-reservation people benefited from this program is uncertain, but it seems quite likely that some did without the agent's knowledge of their precise places of residence.

That Navajo improvements were being made eastward is fairly well established. It was about 1889 when Juan Etcitty built a dam near Juan's Lake (201). Although exact dates cannot be ascertained, it seems likely that Navajo George and Delgarito (Delgadito), the two largest Navajo stockowners in the Chaco region, had become well established by the end of the decade. Both are said to have had large flocks and hired other Navajos to do their herding. Delgarito also sometimes hired Spanish-American and Jemez herders. Both apparently got credit at the Dick Heller store in Cabezon for goods needed to support their ranching operations, and for whiskey. About once a year Heller would come out with some Spanish-American helpers to collect sheep to pay off their bills (202). It is probable that the support of Heller was an important factor in enabling the Navajos to retain possession of range-lands in the face of increasing white pressure. In spite of the opposition of more traditional Navajo headmen such as "Nah-bone," the ability of the more progressive, if less sober, Navajo stockmen to monopolize a significant proportion of the range was certainly a major contribution to the Navajos' efforts to retain a portion of the land east of the reservation.

END NOTES

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2. Judd 1968:112-113.
3. 1954:5.
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5. Affidavid ---- of Walo, 6 May 1909, BIA, SW Title Plant, Tract Books, vol 67-67a:98a.
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9. Eastman to CIA, 29 Jan 1880, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, E-80/1880.
10. Devens to Schurz, 15 June 1880, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, I-352/1880.
11. NA, Ft Wingate Post Returns, Microfilm Roll 1448.
12. Pa lu wah te, et al, no addressee, 27 June 1880, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, T-825/1880 encl.
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14. Hatch to Asst Adj Gen, 28 Apr 1881, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR.
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18. Burnett to Bradley, 7 Dec 1880, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR.

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20. Notes of a Talk ---- 14th, 15th & 16th of December [1880], NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, M-2510/1880.
- 21a. Bennett to CIA, 28 Feb 1881, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, B-134/1881.
- 21b. MacDonald and Arrington 1971:27-29.
22. NA, RWD, Microfilm Roll 689, LR, 1881-89, 1504 AGO 1881.
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29. Bennett to CIA, 2 April 1881, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 6260/1881.
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31. Bennett to CIA, 14 July 1881, FD-1:363-365.
- 32a. Eastman to CIA, 30 July 1881, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 13961/81.
- 32b. Eastman to CIA, 20 Aug 1881, FD-1:432.
33. Plats of T21N, R10W, and T20N, R8W, NMPM.
34. Atkinson to McFarland, 24 Feb 1882, US Surveyor Gen of NM, LS, vol IV:286-290.
35. Atkinson to McFarland, 29 Mar 1882.
36. Ibid.:429-433.
37. Atkinson to McFarland, 19 May 1882.

- 38. Ibid.:495-498.
- 39. Atkinson to McFarland, 9 June 1882.
- 40. Ibid.:512-515.
- 41. Atkinson to McFarland, 3 Nov 1882.
- 42. Ibid.:60-62.
- 43. Atkinson to McFarland, 22 Dec 1882.
- 44. Ibid.:114.
- 45a. Atkinson to McFarland, 15 Mar 1882,
- 45b. Ibid.:412.
- 45c: Plat of T20N, R8Q, NMPM.
- 45d. Field Notes ---- T20N, R8W ---- concluded April 24th 1882,
BLO, Santa Fe.
- 45e. Plat of T21N, R8W, NMPMO.
- 46. Field Notes ---- T21N, R8W ---- concluded April 30th 1882.
- 47. Plat of T21N, R8W, NMPM.
- 48. Plat of T21N, R9W, NMPM.
- 49. Field Notes ---- T21N, R9W ---- completed May 5th 1882, BLO,
Santa Fe.
- 50. Plat of T22N, R8W, NMPM.
- 51. Field Notes ---- T22N, R8W ---- concluded June 3rd 1882, BLO,
Santa Fe.
- 52a. Plat of T20N, R10W, NMPM.
- 52b. Field Notes ---- T20N, R10W ---- Completed July 29th 1882,
BLO, Santa Fe.
- 53a. Plat of T20N, R11W, NMPM.
- 53b. Field Notes ---- T20N, R9W ---- Completed Sept 2d, 1882,
BLO, Santa Fe.

- 54a. Plat of T22N, R9W, NMPM.
- 54b. Field Notes ---- T20N, R9W ---- Completed Sept 2d, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 55a. Plat of T20N, R12 W, NMPM.
- 55b. Field Notes ---- T20N, R12W ---- Completed Sept 14th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 56a. Plat of T22N, R10W, NMPM.
- 56b. Field Notes ---- T22N, R10W ---- Completed Oct 10th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 57a. Plat of T21N, R10W, NMPM.
- 57b. Field Notes ---- T21N, R10W ---- Completed Oct 16th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 58a. Plat of T22N, R11W, NMPM.
- 58b. Field Notes ---- T22N, R11W ---- Completed Nov 11, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 59a. Plat of T21N, R11W, NMPM.
- 59b. Field Notes ---- T21N, R11W ---- Completed Nov 17th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 60a. Plat of T22N, R12W, NMPM.
- 60b. Field Notes ---- T22N, R12W ---- Completed Dec 13th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 61a. Plat of T21N, R12W, NMPM.
- 61b. Field Notes ---- T21N, R12W ---- Completed Dec 19th, 1882, BLO, Santa Fe.
- 62. Bauer and Reeside 1921:160.
- 63. BLO, Santa Fe.
- 64. Swadesh 1974:249-262.
- 65. Enumeration Dist 4, Supervisors Dist 86, 10th US Census, 1880:32.

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67. Buell to Asst Adj Gen, 13 Mar 1882, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 9328/82.
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71. Howard to Ces of Int, 31 July 1882, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 15060/82.
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80. 1971:46.
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82. Bean to Acting Asst Adj Gen, 29 Oct 1882, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 21272/82.
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- 88a. Riordan, to whom it may concern, 25 June 1883, FD-4:14.
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90. Riordan to CIA, 14 Aug 1883, FD-4:162.
91. Collman 1975:48-49.
92. Willet to Stanley, 21 Nov 1883, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 2322/83.
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94. Riordan to CIA, 31 Dec 1883, NA, BIA, RG-75, LR, 327/84.
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CONFRONTATION: 1890-1902

A flu epidemic brought "much sickness and many deaths" at the beginning of 1890 (1), but the major problem to concern Vandever for some time would be the killing of a Navajo by a cowboy beyond Farmington. The threat of war had been increased by rash actions in the Chaco region. The turmoil along the river overshadowed events in the isolated mesa country, and the only report of the Chaco incident is as follows (2):

. . . They (the Navajos) have been very recently driven out of the Charco (sic) Country. They claim that there were thirty men all around, and they kept some of their ponies and blankets, and that they were hustled off in a hurry, regardless of four or five that were too sick to be moved

The participants in this eviction are not identified, nor has any indication of any attempt by the government to follow up the report been found. The killing north of Farmington involved a more densely settled region, and aroused the numerous Navajo population near the San Juan. While reports of the shooting vary in details, all except the white cattlemen seem to have been in agreement on the principal facts. Vandever, who went personally to investigate the matter, gives perhaps the most detailed accounts, according to which it appears that a man named Thez-chilla (possibly Chishch'ili, "Curly Haired"), with his wife, two other Navajo couples, and a boy had gone off the reservation to hunt deer. At or near their camp a white man named John Cox, with four companions, stole a blanket from Thez-chilla and when tracked by the Indians refused to give it up. The dispute led to the driving off of the Navajos by the cowboys. As they retreated, one of the horses stumbled, and a Navajo's rifle was accidentally discharged. The whites immediately opened fire, and Cox killed Thez-chilla. They then rode away, while the Navajos delayed only long enough to bury the body of their comrade before returning to the reservation, where their story aroused strong emotions. A Navajo had recently been sentenced to 25 years in prison for killing a white man in Arizona--a fact well known to the people on the San Juan, who expected equal treatment in the present case. However, skillful manipulating of court dates prevented Vandever from presenting the Indians' side of the question to a jury, and Cox was never tried (3a-3c).

The shooting of Thez-chilla had taken place in December 1889, and the exact time of the eviction of Navajos from the Chaco area is not known. If the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had not given strong support to the rights of Navajos settled off the reservation, that winter might have seriously undermined their hold on the land to the east. In February, the commissioner instructed Vandever to return all "roving" Navajos to the reservation, undoubtedly as a result of the reports of the above troubles. The agency police were sent out to notify all living beyond the reservation limits. Vandever described his results as follows (4):

In a very short time these non-reservation Indians commenced arriving at the agency in bands, numbering from three to fifty, to enter their protests against coming on the reservation to live. From time to time no less than three hundred of them have called upon me, each one declaring that he has lived upon his land from eleven to twenty-two years, and that it is his intention to homestead it when the Government has it surveyed and places within his reach the means of making an entry. I fully explained to each one that he is entitled to 160 (acres) and no more, and that he must confine his stock to his own land. This they declared their willingness to do, and if they will only stand by their promises to comply with the requirements of the law I believe the lands on which they are settled should be surveyed immediately and that they should have their lands allotted to them under the act of February 8, 1887

His report that a third of those living off the reservation were settled on Government land with intentions of complying with the homestead laws (5) brought new instructions from Washington to the effect that he "encourage and assist" all Navajos who would establish legal settlement, accompanying these with 400 allotment-application forms and circulars setting forth the rules for allotting under the General Allotment Act (6). Undoubtedly, the Navajos' restraint in the face of severe provocation had worked to their advantage.

Vandever lacked the manpower to undertake any such task, but he made no further effort to move his scattered charges. However, house-building--on or off reservation, or both--was proceeding rapidly, with the Navajos probably hoping that they would thereby qualify as proper homesteaders. In May, in spite of the time required for spring planting, there were some 200

houses under construction (7). The spring rain had been good, the grass was growing well, and a greater area than in the previous year had been planted by the end of the month (8). Heavy frosts for a few nights just before June 9 ruined any chances of a large harvest (9). Summer rains were late but good (10) (11), and with good pasturage, the Navajos appear to have been able to maintain their off-reservation settlement with little further overt conflict with the whites. There were several accusations of cattle-stealing from white ranchers, but after investigation Vandever found that (12)

. . . in nearly every case . . . the thefts have been committed by white men, and . . . the charge is laid to the Indians for the sake of convenience. These cattlemen are ever ready to charge everything against the Indians, & are a constant source of trouble in this regard.

A good market for Navajo products, and consequent competition by traders, including those beyond the reservation borders (13), helped keep the people to the east in conditions that made resistance to white pressure easier as well.

Two descriptions of value for an understanding of the settlement-patterns and seasonal movements of the Navajos east of the reservation were written this year. One appears in the agent's annual report--a longer and more informative document than most such reports. The first portion of the report contains a great deal of cultural data such as few agents--busy with the details of bureaucratic administration, the squabbles of their employees, and the frequent crises of their Tribe--had time to acquire. This portion was apparently written, at least in first draft, by A.M. Stephen (14). The rest, presenting information on events of the year and current condition of the Tribe, seems to be Vandever's work, incorporating perhaps in some places further material furnished by Stephen.

Stephen was almost certainly the author of the following (15):

The flocks are moved at least twice a year to obtain sufficient pasture and water, as in the summer many of the smaller springs dry up. The usual practice is to take the flocks up to the higher plateaus and mountains in the summer, grazing in the neighborhood of springs, or an occasional rain-pool, and moving down to the valleys and low, wooded mesas in winter, at which season, to a great extent, both sheep and shepherds depend upon the snow for water.

This shepherds' life prevents them from dwelling in large communities. Perhaps some desirable watering place may be occupied by as many as eight or ten families, but usually fewer than that number frequent the same locality, and it is rare to see more than three or four huts together. Some of the larger cañons and watering places, with adjoining arable land, are occupied permanently; and although the springs and pasturage are generally regarded as common to the tribe, yet the arable places are distinctly held and recognized as family or individual property, and families cling to localities.

They have two distinct types of dwellings, the bough arbor for summer and the earth-covered hut for winter, the former for temporary occupancy in pleasant weather, but the hut is regarded as the family home. It is a conical structure of tree trunks and limbs; covered with earth till it looks like an irregular dome-shaped mound, the door-way always facing to the east. But in this rude structure every detail is traditionally prescribed, and it is dedicated with feast and song-prayers soon after being completed. There is no fixed size for the hut, but the average dimensions are about 7 feet high at the apex and 14 feet in diameter, and this uncouth dwelling may scarcely be called comfortable. At best it is merely weather-proof and habitable.

Vandever himself was doubtless author of the following (16):

. . . But of this vast tract I compute that not more than a third of it is available as sheep pasture because of scarce water In other words, there is only one watering-place within 100 square miles.

If a systematic scheme of water storage was carried out I believe that nearly four-fifths of this region could be utilized as pasturage, while under the present condition barely sufficient can be availed to support the flocks

they now own. There are about 400 families or nearly 2,000 persons living beyond the south and east limits, but I have great doubt whether grass and water can be found for their flocks if brought within the reservation. In fact there is not sufficient winter pasturage for the flocks now within, and many families move beyond the south limits for this purpose every winter. The water supply is, as it has been for several years past, a matter deserving the most serious and immediate consideration

They have a very primitive method of planting, but apparently well adapted for this arid region. They select sandy spits near some line of drainage, and these seemingly dry, barren dunes retain sufficient moisture to germinate seeds, which are planted deep with a hoe. They throw up numerous low dikes with their hoes to retain the occasional rain-fall, but they chiefly depend upon the sudden heavy showers of July and August to mature the corn, which is harvested in September. Irrigation has never been practiced by them, except in recent experiments in a small way

Of the numerous small arable spots scattered throughout the reservation they plant altogether about 10,000 acres in corn They also plant squash, pumpkin, and melons near their corn-fields, but it is very difficult to form an estimate either of the area of these irregular patches or the amount harvested; but in fact most of these vegetables are consumed on ripening, only very few being preserved in caches for winter. The amount of beans planted is very trifling, and the amount of wheat will not exceed 30,000 pounds.

. . . .

But the most promising indication of their steady advance toward civilization is displayed in their growing desire to possess permanent dwellings. This has been directly stimulated by the operation of a saw-mill erected 10 miles from the agency, which supplies them with lumber, and already 200 comfortable dwelling-houses, mostly two-roomed and

with doors and windows, have been erected . . . due largely to the liberality of the Department in furnishing . . . tools and building material. I have also issued during the past year nearly one hundred sets of carpenters' tools, and windows, doors, locks, etc., for about two hundred dwelling-houses . . . the result has been a steady demand for both tools and material

. . . .

In this arid region of scant vegetation, a much wider scope than elsewhere is necessary for pasturage, and as most of their land lies considerably over 6,000 feet, only a very small portion can ever be brought under cultivation. This is the principal reason why so many members of the tribe have gone off the reservation and made their homes on the Government lands surrounding it

A second description was written by Henry C. Adams, who had held the position of additional farmer on the San Juan, and refers specifically to that part of the reservation south of the San Juan, and north of the Tunicha Arroyo east of the mountains. It is sufficiently close to the Chaco region--both geographically and environmentally--and some of the more general features of the settlement pattern may be extended to apply there as well (17):

During the summer this country is occupied by a large number of Navajos, who raise large crops of Corn, wheat and vegetables. The pasturage being excellent, great herds (sic) of Horses Cattle Sheep and Goats feed annually on the same. But as winter approaches, the inhabitants move to the foot hills to the west, or to the San Juan River, where fuel is plenty, where they remain until another seed time. Though there are many of them who have bought, or had issued to them, wagons, they have been enabled to erect houses and haul their wood and they remain permanently near their fields.

This description related more particularly to the southern and middle portion of the San Juan

Country. Further to the north, along the south bank of the San Juan River, there is a greater density of population than on any other portion of the Reservation. Owing no doubt to the excellent productive quality of the Soil, which borders the river, the easy means of irrigation, the abundant supply of drift wood, which comes down the river each year, and the fine shade, as the river is bordered with large Cottonwood trees, in some places almost a forest. These advantages have brought the better class of Navajos to this section . . . those who are willing to work and give up roaming about. They have erected of Adobes, Logs or Stone some very comfortable dwellings, cleared off and brought under cultivation larger tracts of land than at any other place on the Resn and constructed irrigating ditches by which they are able to raise very good crops of corn, wheat and vegetables.

While these people are purely agriculturists, they have large heards (sic) feeding on the fine pasturage on the upland back from the river.

Thus movement both to higher elevations and lower elevations appears to have been a Navajo practice in the fall, depending on local conditions. The Navajo population of the Chaco country lacked the ready access to very high mountain tops that were so important to the people to the west for summer grazing. The lower portions of the Chaco country, where agriculture was also possible, undoubtedly supplied the summer range; and the moderate elevations of Chacra Mesa, where a supply of firewood was to be found close at hand, supplied the winter range. Certain choice locations along the base of the mesa, particularly in the upper reaches of the Chaco, may well have been well enough endowed to make year-round occupation feasible, at least during the more favorable years. It is of particular interest to note that the introduction of a superior mode of transportation, the wagon, had contributed to a more sedentary way of life.

A few other items relating to material culture appear in the agent's annual report (18), and are worth noting here. Only the older women still made pottery, but basketry remained an active craft, with younger women possessing the skill (19). Wool yield was up to an average of nearly 3 pounds per fleece (20). This can hardly have been the result of improved breeds of sheep, for efforts to cross-breed Navajo sheep had made but little progress

as yet, and it seems more likely that the increased yield can be attributed to a more general use of sheep-shears, and to the fact that the homemade tin wool-knives were becoming rare. Crops encouraged by the agent through the issue of seeds were wheat, alfalfa, potatoes, pumpkins, squash, and watermelon (21). The effects of trade and Government issues were diverse (22):

. . . The crude artisans among them have adopted many modern tools and discarded their old primitive appliances. The women still cling to the traditional methods in spinning and weaving, but in their cooking the ordinary utensiles (sic) of civilization are forcing the crude pottery vessels and basketry into disuse. For the cumbrous wooden hoes and planting sticks, modern implements have been substituted, thus enabling them to plant a greatly increased acreage. The proximity of trading-posts has radically changed their native costumes . . . and also affords them good markets for their wool, peltry, woven fabrics, and other products. Bright calicoes and Mexican straw hats are their ordinary summer attire, and they take kindly to our comfortable heavy garments in cold weather. Fire-arms have almost entirely superceded the primitive weapons, and silver ornaments of their own manufacture are worn instead of copper or brass.

While these reports show some lack of historical perspective and exhibit strong ethnocentric bias, they seem to in general accurately reflect trends within the Tribe. Local and individual variation must be expected to have been great during this period of rapid culture change, but the Navajo view of matters did not differ greatly, if Mariano's words at the first council held after D.L. Shipley replaced Vandever as agent can be considered typical (23):

. . . I have a wagon, but as you saw, the wheels are all wrapped with rawhide Wagons are one thing that we need very much, to haul wood and water and help us in a great many ways. We also need axes to fell the pines and cut them into wood.

It is true we sometimes get our wagons broken by putting wild horses to them but we try to take as good care of them as possible.

We also need scrapers so that we can construct dams and clean out our water places. I have made lakes about

my place with one which a Lieut. at Wingate loaned me.

The early part of the winter of 1890-1891 was mild (24), but storms in February brought deep snow that covered range plants, causing some loss of stock (25).

Issue goods inventoried at Fort Defiance in June included wagons, wagon bows, plows, wagon harnesses and plow harnesses, and sheep shears, among other items (26).

There were few reports from the Chaco region during the year, but one complaint was received from W.H. Williams of Aztec, who owned a trading post which he described as being 45 miles south of Aztec and 2 miles east of the reservation line. This would undoubtedly have been the Tiznatzin post. He had two employees at the store--an Anglo-American and a Spanish-American. Late in August, some drunk Navajos had come to the store and threatened to burn up the stock, but the two men at the store had managed to dissuade them. Williams had received reports that two men by the names of Joe D. Duncan and John Montes had a peddling wagon from which they sold goods and whiskey, and that they were carrying on their business near his store. He asked that the Government put a stop to this competition (27).

In December, a grand jury in San Juan County complained that Navajos off the reservation had engaged in major depredations and thefts (28).

Shipley later reported the conviction of a white man in San Juan County for selling whiskey to Navajos. The penalty was a fine of \$300, and the man had been re-arrested on a charge of selling whiskey without a license, and a trial date of December 29 had been set (29).

All these happenings apparently combined to initiate a new effort to place Navajos on the reservation. A council was planned for February 22 at Manuelito's home to begin the removal of "all renegade Navajos" living elsewhere (30). Nothing seems to have come of this program, however, and it may be that the off-reservation Navajos were again able to convince their agent that there were no "renegades" among them.

Winter was hard, with snow throughout most of December and an outbreak of smallpox (31).

Little attention was paid to the off-reservation people during Shipley's administration, and it is not until E.H. Plummer

replaced him as agent in 1893 that information of consequence appears. Plummer gave off-reservation problems considerable attention. In June, he sent an agency policeman, Holy Ann (Julián), to investigate the reported theft of some sheep belonging to a Mr. Castillo of Bernalillo (32).

Sometime during the year, Scott N. Morris of Farmington visited the Chaco ruins in search of Anasazi burials. His digging was probably quite limited, for he found nothing to take home with him (33). It is unlikely that Morris made a trip alone into country unknown to him, and he may have gone with white stockmen or traders.

In August, Plummer's assistant, J.F. LaFourrette, issued a pass to four Navajos to visit the "Salt Lakes, New Mexico," in order to trade horses for cattle. Although the identities of the four are not certain on the basis of the information contained on their pass, the names include three that were held by Chaco Navajos: George, Tom, and Na-des-pi (probably Naa'Zibai, "Gray Eyes"). The fourth, Bh-kine-o-kel-teh, cannot be identified even tentatively (34). Reports of increased contacts with people from the Chaco area in succeeding months support the identification of these four as Chaco residents whose success in dealing with the agency under the new administration may well have encouraged further reliance on Fort Defiance for aid.

The year was not the best for the Navajos in terms of their economy. Summer rains were good; the harvest was large, except for those families whose fields were hit by floods. However, grazing was poor--a fact attributed to the cold (35). Even more disastrous was a "panic" in the national market, with sharp drops in the prices of both wool and lambs (36).

Some Navajos living off the reservation had long supplemented their income by working for whites, and in November Plummer gave approval to this sort of off-reservation residence (37). The growing need soon brought Welo and four companions to Fort Defiance for a permit to hunt, which was issued them by La-Fourrette (38). Navajos hunting in "the Valles" --probably in the Jemez Mountains--had killed so many deer that a protest was received from Albuquerque. Plummer promised to order them back to the reservation, but excused their acts by explaining that (39):

. . . There is no hunting on the Reservation. The Navajos are very poor this year on account of the very low price of wool and are very much in need of the deer hides for clothing, moccasins, leggins &c. The hides are worth to them about five dollars each. They do

not waste any of the animal, but I understand that it is not desirable that the game should be all killed off or that the Indians should have it all.

Whether or not this was Welo's party is unknown, but as late as 1925, when Welo was an old man, he still enjoyed a reputation for having been a good hunter (40).

By the beginning of 1894, Plummer was issuing permits for residence outside the reservation with no qualifications as to source of income (41). At the end of January, he wrote two such permits for Chaco residents, which, although they do not locate their homes, are significant records of the off-reservation status of Welo and George. The first, composed on the 29th, stated (42):

The bearer of this, a Navajo Indian, known as Way-low, has been living on the land which he now occupies for twelve years. He has built houses, dug wells and made other improvements. Under the laws of the United States he is entitled to a Homestead claim for the lands so under cultivation and improved. Pending the issue by the Land Office of the Patent all persons are warned against trespassing on his property in any way or with herds.

His rights are clear and undoubted and must be respected by all citizens the same as if he were a white man.

George received his permit the following day. It was phrased in equally strong terms (43):

The bearer of this, a Navajo Indian, named Choge has lived on the land he now occupies since the return of the Navajos from Fort Sumner. Under the laws of the United States he is entitled to a homestead claim and pending the issue of a patent by the Land Office he is entitled to be respected in his rights as any other citizen. Persons trespassing (sic) on his land with herds or in any other way are liable under the laws of the Territory the same as if he were a white man.

His brand is "G" and any one found with his stock in their possession will be prosecuted by the United States.

Persons having reason to believe that he has branded stock not belonging to him should report the facts to this office.

The terms of these permits strongly suggest that the Chaco Navajos were again--or perhaps still--finding themselves in conflict with would-be settlers on their lands. It is of interest to note that George was already branding his stock, and there is a suggestion that he wanted the agent's support against accusations that he had used his brand improperly.

This renewed pressure may well have been brought on by drought that caused white ranchers to seek more land. Plummer reported that dry weather had brought hard times for the Navajos. This combined with the poor wool market had reduced some to the need for Government assistance (44).

The problems of the people living off the reservation were soon well known to Plummer as a result of these visits, and he wrote the commissioner asking that an allotting agent be sent to assist them in getting title to their claims. As he described the situation (45):

There are a number of Navajos on the south and east sides of the Reservation who have been living at their present homes ever since the tribe was brought back from Fort Sumner. Many of them have quite extensive improvements on these places.

As civilization or settlements crowd toward the Reservation these bona-fide settlers are annoyed and threatened by whites or Mexicans who wish to secure the water rights and privileges which are rightfully the property of these Indians. To protect these Indians their lands should be located and surveyed so that the Agent could file the necessary papers to obtain for them their patents to the lands.

The commissioner had no allotting agents to spare for the Navajos, but sent another 50 blank forms for applying for lands under the allotting act of 1887, and suggested that if the land were not surveyed a good description might do as well (46). However, the agency had neither the manpower, nor probably the skills, needed to do the allotting.

Winter, spring, and summer were dry, causing both loss of crops and poor grazing for stock. The price of wool remained low (47a-47e).

By the beginning of 1895, Constant Williams, who had become agent, reported that the Tribe was so destitute that many trading posts had been forced to close, and there was only one still in

operation along the entire length of the San Juan River (48). Williams gave little attention to the people beyond the reservation, and the contacts that Plummer had established between the agency and that region were lost.

Economic conditions were little improved during the year. Snow was so heavy during the winter that there was further loss of livestock (49). Wool prices continued low--only 3¢ a pound (50). Near the San Juan, crops were good (51), but the harvest in Chaco Canyon was scanty (52a)(52b).

The desire to build houses remained strong, but a shortage of wagons for hauling building materials and fuel had slowed progress. In locations far from timber it was necessary to haul logs by burros, and this tended to promote the construction of hogans rather than houses (53).

Visitors who would bring major changes for the Navajos of that section came to Chaco Canyon in the fall. Richard Wetherill guided the Palmer family, including their daughter, Marietta, who later became his wife, to see the ruins. At the same time, he was looking for ruins at which two wealthy New York brothers, Talbot and Fred Hyde, might want to finance excavations (54).

The route followed by this small party is not entirely certain, although it can be identified with relation to some points through McNitt's description and Marietta Wetherill's taped memories. It is probable that McNitt relied heavily on information given him by Marietta for his reconstruction, yet some major differences appear between this and a series of taped interviews with her held in 1953.

After crossing the San Juan, both sources agree that they visited Dick Simpson's trading post in Gallegos Canyon, and went from there to a store operated by two brothers named Swires, or Squires. McNitt makes this a 1-day journey, but Marietta says that it took 2 days--a more reasonable estimate for wagon travel where roads were poor, if their destination were Tiznatzin or Bistai. McNitt quotes a fragment of Marietta's diary in which she described the store as dirty, and having little stock and a good deal of pawn. In 1953 she remembered the Swires brothers as German, and seemed to relate this to their carrying Germantown yarn, certainly a quirk of memory. More significant to Navajo life, she noted in her diary an absence of wagons among the Navajos about the Swires post.

The next day's travel was to Tsaya, where no trading post then existed; the former post was probably already abandoned and

in ruins. McNitt's description of the route beyond Tsaya appears confused, and he ultimately has the party coming directly up the canyon, past Peñasco Blanco to Pueblo Bonito. However, in Marietta's taped reminiscences, she describes a route north of the canyon to the head of Mockingbird Canyon and thence down Mockingbird to approach Pueblo Bonito from the east. They spent about a month to 6 weeks in the canyon, exploring the ruins from Peñasco Blanco to Pueblo Pintado. The visit was during the months of October and November, but the exact dates are not known. According to Marietta, there was wood from the ruins stacked for firewood by Spanish-American sheep-herders, and she says that sheep were bedded between Pueblo Bonito and the cliff--but whether any of the herds were present at the time is not specified (55) (56).

Marietta supplies little information about the Navajos in the vicinity of Chaco Canyon at that time. Perhaps most significant is her assertion that no Navajos lived within the canyon itself (57):

. . . They would come in and herd their sheep in there but they didn't live in the canyon and they lived up on top, on the top mesas and on the rim-rocks and all up in there but they never came in and made a permanent camp in the canyon. They did camp up at the end of the canyon where it opened out, you know, into that great vast country there and also in the canyon that came out of Chaco Canyon and went straight south. We always called it the Gap But (they) never lived in the canyon and I asked them why and they said that there were the souls of too many dead people there

The only Navajo that Marietta identifies by name is Tomasito, who was then a young man, and spent a good deal of time around their camp, and who, as a joke, scared her badly one day by jumping suddenly in front of her (58).

Government reports for the Chaco region, or even for the general Navajo country east of the reservation, are few for 1896. A problem that would affect the Eastern Navajos greatly in years to come was first reported from Fort Defiance about the beginning of the year. Scabies, a sheep disease caused by parasites, had appeared among Navajo sheep. The agent quickly requested funds to install a sheep dip at the agency, and said that he would select sites for other dipping vats soon (59). Toward the end of September, the agency could report that about 200,000 sheep had been dipped twice, and three of the plants were still being operated. Navajos near Cabezon also proposed to dip their sheep

at a rented vat at Grants if the Government would help them by buying supplies to be used, because the reservation dips were too far away (60).

Richard Wetherill returned to Chaco Canyon in the spring with George H. Pepper as archeologist, for excavations financed by the Hyde brothers and supervised by Dr. Frederic W. Putnam for the American Museum of Natural History. Their route differed somewhat from that taken by Wetherill and the Palmers the year before. From Simpson's store, they traveled 18.6 miles to Walling's store. The identity of this store is not established, but it was only 21.2 miles from Pueblo Bonito by wagon road and undoubtedly supplied another place for trade by the Chaco people (61).

Work on the ruins began May 5. The total number of workers is rather uncertain, but during the first month, only one Navajo was hired--a young man whose name was recorded as Agovita Tensia, (probably Agapito Atencio). The others were apparently all whites, and included Clayton Wetherill, who was Richard's brother; Orian Buck; and C.E. Cushman. Whites were paid \$20 per month, and Indians \$13. By June, two Indians were employed in the excavations, but when digging in the small ruins on the south side of the canyon began to reveal burials, both quit. Buck had to go for more supplies and took Cushman, who had also quit. This left only Pepper and the two Wetherill brothers for about 3 weeks. By July the work had shifted back to Pueblo Bonito, and 13 Navajos were employed. The work-day began at 7:00 a.m. and lasted until 6:00 p.m. (62).

On July 27, there were only five Navajos on the crew, and these had been recently hired, apparently after a layoff due to uncertainty regarding the funds to be sent by the Hydes (63). In August, there were 18 Indians on the payroll, but in September, the crew was again down to five. Work was concluded on September 24 (64).

We do not know how much experience any of the Chaco Navajos had had in wage-work prior to this time. None had served as scouts at Fort Wingate, and local opportunities were quite limited. One or two may have found very temporary employment at one of the surrounding trading posts, although it seems more likely that Navajos living closer to those stores would have had readier access to jobs and probably would have received preference in employment as well. Some had undoubtedly worked for large stock owners such as Navajo George, but this employment would have been within Navajo culture and probably not subject to any of the cultural practices of the Euro-American tradition that complicated employment by non-Navajos.

While their husbands found jobs with the expedition, the women were weaving for sale to the excavators. Pepper appears to have been a particularly good customer and ready with ideas for new products that he would purchase when he had enough ordinary rugs. He later claimed to have ordered the first runners and pillow-tops made by Navajos during that first season at Chaco, and said the first sandpainting tapestry was also made at that time (65).

There is evidence that herds of sheep from the Chama area were being driven to the Chaco region for winter grazing prior to the arrival of the Wetherills and Hydes. This may have begun about the time of the 1882 township surveys, or even somewhat earlier. Most of these herds belonged to relatively wealthy owners, and were tended on shares by partidarios who worked under the direction of a caporal. The caporal's duties usually involved bringing supplies to the sheep-camps; finding grazing to which the herds could be moved as grass was exhausted at each camp; and taking care of any emergencies that might arise, such as illness, depredations by coyotes, and the like. Normally there would be one caporal for every two camps, and one herder at each camp. Camp equipment was carried on burros, as was water. The camp consisted of a tent and such supplies and gear as could be packed on four burros. The herder usually also had a dog. The herds were bedded without corrals and moved frequently (66).

These operations were quite self-sufficient while on winter range from late fall until early spring, and it is doubtful that they provided any employment opportunities for Navajos or a significant market for crafts. In fact, they were in direct competition with the Navajos for the pasturage, and such limited data as exist suggest that relations between the two peoples were not overly friendly.

There was also rivalry between the Spanish sheepmen and the Anglo cattlemen. It is said that cowboys of the Carlisle outfit killed seven Spanish-American herders in the Gallegos wash area in the 1880's (67), and that another herder was shot quite casually by a cattleman who was a member of a posse that passed by his camp about 1879 or 1880. The latter murder was never prosecuted (68), nor is there anything to indicate that those committed by the Carlisle men were.

The result of this pressure was to drive the Spanish-American sheep operations to the south and into peripheral areas, farther from the river and deeper into Navajo country (69). Thus it is possible that Spanish-owned herds did not penetrate the Chaco region itself until relatively late, at least in any numbers. The

earliest Spanish surname found thus far in an inscription in the canyon is that of Noberto Martínez, dated 1884, and inscriptions that can be definitely tied to sheep operations by the Spanish-Americans do not become common until after 1910. Many of the earlier herders may have been illiterate, however. At least some of the Navajos encountered by the Wetherill-Hyde expeditions already had Spanish names, but whether obtained through contact with ranchers or with traders at places such as Raton Springs is uncertain.

The trail used to bring the flocks to their winter range passed from El Rito to Coyote, through the Pedernal Grant to Gallina and Lindreth and the Largo, the herds of various owners spreading out to Chaco and Star Lake. One of the first from the Chama Valley to send his herds to the Chaco area was Veneslao Jaramillo of El Rito, who had five or six partidarios, each in charge of a herd of 2,200 sheep. Others who soon followed included Daniel and Hermán Trujillo, who were brothers, also of El Rito; a man named De Vargas from Canjilón; another pair of brothers, Roque Ulibarrí of Tierra Amarilla, and Francisco of Las Nutrias; and the Sánchez brothers of Los Brazos. Ricardo, Hermán, and Maclovio Archuleta of El Rito ranged their herds on the Gallegos and Blanco. Two Salazar brothers, Cipriano and Prajeres, came originally from El Rito, but settled later in Parkview and had their winter range between Largo and Carrizo Canyons (70).

In time, Anglos gained control of the sheep industry in the Chama country and continued to utilize the methods employed by the Spanish-Americans. Just when partidarios working for Anglo owners began to bring stock into the San Juan basin for winter grazing is another uncertainty. The earliest of these owners was Thomas D. Burns (71). Burns had begun business in the region as a storekeeper by 1866 at Fort Lowell, and soon progressed to speculation in land-grant titles as well as dabbling in politics (72). He was also active in Indian affairs, serving as English-Spanish interpreter at a talk with the Utes at Tierra Amarilla in 1872 (73), and was instrumental in the negotiating of a treaty which removed the Jicarillas westward out of the Chama region (74a) (74b). He had Spanish partidarios, including at one time two brothers named Trujillo, but hired an Anglo foreman. His winter range extended over the Chaco region (75). It is possible that the Spanish-American herders mentioned occasionally by the Wetherills in the 1890's were caring for his sheep.

In September 1896, the last township of the 15 immediately around Chaco Canyon--T20N, R9W--was finally surveyed. The surveyor was George C. Reed. The plat shows only roads and trails as man-made features, but Reed's field notes state, "The only

settlers within the Township are Navajo Indians, with herds of Sheep, goats and horses" (76a) (76b).

There is little information on events in the Eastern Navajo country for the winter of 1896-1897. Spanish-American herders were in Chaco Canyon, as evidenced by an inscription bearing the name of Silviano Archuleta and a date of January 22, 1897. Archuleta inscribed his residence also--El Rito, New Mexico. This is the earliest inscription that can be definitely attributed to a sheep-herder from that region, for Archuleta quite thoroughly took time to write his occupation along with the other information (77). It is also the beginning of a series of inscriptions by Spanish-American herders that extends over many years, all or most being dated in the winter months, and many including the names of towns in the Chama drainage. Earlier partidarios were either illiterate or felt no urge to record their presence with names and dates. The new practice seems to correlate roughly with the taking over of the sheep business by Anglos, although whether there is any direct relationship in this coincidence remains to be determined.

The Navajo Agency continued to ignore the off-reservation people to the east. General remarks in the report of John Lane, sent to Fort Defiance as inspector in April, give some data of interest insofar as Navajo cultural history is concerned. He noted that new houses continued to be built "all over the Reservation," and a similar trend was probably true beyond the reservation lines. He also noted Navajo use of horsemeat for food, a relatively rare practice missed by most observers (78).

In the spring, Professor W.K. Morehead led a party of six whites to Chaco Canyon on a relic-collecting expedition. It is uncertain how long they were in the field or whether they hired any Navajo labor, but they returned to Farmington with two wagon-loads of pottery, skeletons, textiles, turquoise, shell beads, and other items. They left before the Wetherills returned (79). It was a dry spring and there was insufficient forage in the canyon for the group's five horses, so that they had to send back to Farmington for additional hay and oats (80).

Wetherill and Pepper returned to Chaco in May to continue excavations in the ruins. Wetherill brought with him Marietta, whom he had recently married (81). The route taken this year differed from those used in 1895 and 1896. According to Marietta, they again went via the Swires' store, where they left word that they would hire any Navajos who wanted to work. From here they went by way of the Escavada to Chaco Canyon, camping one night at the home of Agolita (probably Agapito Atencio) on the Escavada (82).

When camp was set up, a stove was rented from Welo, who had acquired it as a part of the property left behind by the cattle company (83). Since the same stove appears to have been used in 1896, as nearly as can be made out in the photographs of the camp during the 2 years (84), some similar arrangements must have been made the previous year as well. Whatever the arrangements, they led to an accusation against an unidentified Navajo for attempted theft of the stove (85). Further trouble occurred in 1897, when Welo's family wanted it returned. As described by Marietta (86):

. . . They rode in and they said they wanted the stove and Mr. Wetherill says, "Well, I paid the rent for this month for the stove and," he says, "you can't take it anyway" and so he . . . walked into his tent and put his sixshooter on with a belt full of cartridges and he walked out and he just drug his toe from the tent here right across over to the kitchen. "Now," he says, "I'm sorry to do this but the first Navajo that crosses that line," he says, "I'll shoot to kill." There didn't a one of them go across.

Enforcement of Anglo-style authority in a wage-work situation presented a classic case of conflict in cultural values and problems that seem generally to have been handled in a somewhat more tactful manner. Work began at 7:00 a.m. The lunch-break was from noon until 1:30; quitting time at 6:00; and the work-day 9½ hours (87). The work-week was 6 days, with Sundays off (88). The rate of pay was 50¢ per day and board (89). Cooking for the crew was done by a Navajo named Juan. Menus included meat, obtained locally; rice; potatoes; bread; coffee; dried peaches; onions; canned tomatoes; chili; and green corn, the latter probably also purchased locally (90).

About 10 Navajos were hired the first day (91), and soon a crew of 20 was at work. Expenses quickly mounted. The Navajos were paid by check, and the traders charged a discount when cashing the checks. In order to cut expenses and perhaps to avoid the problems raised by the checks, the expedition soon began to pay the workers in groceries at the same price as sold by the traders (92).

Pilfering of artifacts on the job was one problem that arose this year. Part--perhaps all--of this was done by Navajo workmen. To stop this, Wetherill assigned two workers to each room, anticipating that each would report any pocketing of choice pieces by the other. When a loss of projectile-points was discovered, an offer to buy points at a small sum brought most of them back. The theft of a particularly fine turquoise pendant was attributed to one of the better workers, and diplomatically ignored in camp.

The object was later traced to a trading post in Farmington, where it was recovered by purchase from the trader (93).

Most of the Navajo workers slept in the open at the camp (94), but those who lived closest probably returned to their hogans each evening, for there was at least one time when a worker was late in the morning. Wetherill laid him off for the rest of the week, and he thereafter reported to work on time (95). Turnover was high. Many of those employed had never worked for wages before and were satisfied with one week's pay (96). However, others may well have been dissatisfied with the work for various unexplained reasons. Some had come as far as 50 miles to find a job (97), and perhaps did not like being so far from home for long. Some may have found working under the rules set by whites not to their liking, decided they did not want to risk the social and religious consequences of working in the ruins, or have been needed by their families for participation in ceremonial activities. Whatever the cause, turnover does not seem to have been a matter of great concern for expedition members, perhaps because there were others waiting for the jobs.

A more serious problem seems to have been absenteeism due to drinking. When it became known that there were Navajos receiving pay at Chaco Canyon, some Spanish-Americans loaded burros with kegs of whiskey and began peddling it in the vicinity. How extensive this trade was that summer is uncertain, but there was at least one incident, which resulted in action by Wetherill. Three or four Spanish-Americans camped with some whiskey across the canyon from the excavations. McNitt (98) identifies them as sheep-herders, but Marietta implies that they were merely peddlers, which seems more probable in view of the time of year and the fact that herders would have been too busy with their own affairs to have time for something of this sort. Some five to seven Navajo workers disappeared from the job and spent 2 days drinking at the peddlers' camp. Wetherill tried to chase the peddlers off, but without success. The second night the Navajos returned and went to sleep in a trench in the trash heap, where they were found in the morning. Wetherill shoveled some dirt over them and set out several skulls from the excavations. When they awoke among the skulls, they were understandably upset. Wetherill performed a mock ceremony with flash powder that night to calm their fears of the skulls and threatened to fire anyone who again got drunk (99). McNitt adds other details, attributed to information he heard from Marietta. Tomás Padilla was one of those who had been a member of the drinking party, and was the first to awaken in the morning. Quickly recognizing Wetherill's prank for what it was, he awakened the others with the words, "Murderers! See there, the heads of the Mexicans you killed last night!" This soon had the entire camp laughing, and the

episode was considered a good joke thereafter. McNitt also asserts that this is the event that led later to accusations that Wetherill imprisoned Navajos in the ruins along with skulls lighted with candles (100). The accuracy of these various stories is difficult to pin down today.

In spite of the high potential for serious conflict in a situation where cultural values were often so much at odds, the summer appears to have been a generally successful one, with relatively little serious trouble aside from the confrontation between Welo and Wetherill over the stove. Marietta recalled good relations with the workers' wives and being taught to weave (101).

The expedition left Chaco in September (102). Richard soon sent two of his brothers, Al and Clayton, along with Orian Buck, back to the canyon to establish a small trading post at Pueblo Bonito and operate it through the winter. A small room was built against the ruin where three or four of the old rooms were also available for use (103). The success of this initial trading effort is not recorded, but even though the Navajos were no longer working for wages they undoubtedly had pelts and sheep to exchange for other goods. This small enterprise soon grew into a large mercantile establishment, and some degree of success seems certain, as indicated by later letters.

Sometime during 1897, probably in the winter, a smallpox epidemic struck especially hard in the Chaco area. In 1898, Hrdlicka (104) found "several abandoned Navajo corpses in deserted hogans about Chaco Canyon."

The Hyde expedition returned in May, and new construction soon was started on a building to serve as quarters and store. Four Navajos--Tomicito, Cocinero, Tin Head, and Joe Perraly--were hired to put up the structure. The store did good business from the first, and was a joint venture of Richard Wetherill and the Hydes. Wetherill wrote his partners (105):

. . . The trade has been from 20 to 60 dollars per day up to the present--We buy everything offered of marketable value--Sheep, Goats, Mules, wool--Pelts etc.--All the Blankets in the region come to us--The Store and sheep will make the work (in the excavations) almost self supporting. The Post office will be Cabezon and supplies will be drawn from Albuquerque--

Pepper added in a letter of his own that (105)

. . . most of the money paid out to the men, finds its way back into your coffers, and then the general trade brings in a good revenue; this is, of course, greater in the winter season but even now we have a brisk business when all other stores that we know of have either closed or are thinking of doing so.

Marietta, although encumbered by her first child, was the clerk most of the time (105).

The information relating to the beginning of the Chaco trading post raises a number of questions. Most interesting is the fact that business was considered better in the winter. Whether this was a result of Navajo practices or the influx of non-Navajo stockmen for winter range is uncertain. The cause of the closing of several posts in 1898 is also unknown. Wetherill's mention of sheep as a profit-making item separate from the store suggests that he was beginning a stock-raising operation of his own at this early date.

Other scholars were being attracted to Chaco Canyon by the activity there. Aleš Hrdlička, in the first season of fieldwork for his study of the physical anthropology of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico, visited the canyon that year; however, he returned again in later years, so the dates of his observations among the Navajos, which were extended throughout Navajo country, cannot be specified, nor their places localized, except where he is explicit in his final report (106) (107). His report of a smallpox epidemic not long prior to his first season has been noted above. In his general descriptions he refers frequently to the Chaco country when citing specific examples, and it seems probable that his most detailed observations of Navajo life were in this locality. Because of this, they are worth extensive quotation, providing a brief ethnography for the turn of the century (108-117).

The Navaho are partly agriculturists, partly shepherds, but whenever an opportunity occurs they show good trading abilities and are readily adapting themselves to all work and handicrafts of the white man. The sheep are tended mostly by girls or women; the horses graze in definite places and are looked after mostly but not exclusively by the men (108).

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The . . . Navaho have at present no native alcoholic beverage. The Isleta make some grape wine (109).

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The Navaho . . . owing to the semidesert nature of the country . . . live a rather roaming life, but they are by no means nomads. They spend more time on horseback than the Indians of any other tribe They herd flocks of sheep, own many ponies, and are great horse fanciers and racers. Both men and women gamble, but they are not so reckless of property as members of other tribes. There is but little prostitution or drunkenness in the tribe, and, with the exception of gambling, the general moral tone . . . is a good one. Individuals of both sexes, as among the better preserved Indians in general, are very modest In the writer's visits to their homes, in measuring and examinations (for data for studies in physical anthropology), and in connection with inquiries, there was never manifested anything indecent or forward. During his stay about Chaco canyon, only one Navaho woman who could be termed a prostitute was heard of, and very few individuals were seen in the tribe who could possibly have been half-breeds. About some of the trading posts and south of the reservation conditions are worse than in the heart of the country, but the degradation seen is nowhere great and is scarcely more than individual (110).

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The living Navaho family is generally moderate in size, but the tribe is increasing in numbers (111).

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Among the Navaho girls marry quite early (after puberty), but the young men, obliged to accumulate some property before they can obtain brides, marry at later ages. The writer has seen several brides of about 14 to 16 years of age, and, on the other hand, has met a number of adult individuals of both sexes who, though in normal health, were still unmarried. Some of the richer men still have two or, rarely, three wives. In one of the families living near Pueblo Bonito, a Navaho is married to two sisters (112).

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The Navaho . . . infants are also carried on cradle boards. The Navaho appliance consists of one or

more, frequently two, boards to the sides of which are attached leather strings, with which the child, wrapped in cloths or a buckskin, is fastened. A layer of cedar bark or other soft substances and pieces of fabrics cover the boards. Under the shoulders of the child is placed by some a soft, oblong cushion or fold "to make the child straight." Under the head is another cushion or fold, most often of calico, not hard, yet firmer than a feather or a wool pillow. This somewhat rigid surface undoubtedly aids in producing the occipital flattening

As to any intentional deformation in this tribe, most of the women questioned in this matter did little more in response than laugh. One older woman said that the Navaho "do not like a head that protrudes behind," illustrating the words with her hands (113).

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Among the Navaho crimes are rare, consisting of theft, desertion, and murder. In 1898 . . . some Navaho robbed one of their chiefs, Vicente; such an occurrence, however, from all accounts, is very rare. The Navaho steal stock from the Hopi, and on the border commit occasionally petty thefts from the whites; but the majority of the tribe are honest, as are most other Indians who have not suffered degradation. A murder in the tribe occasionally takes place, followed by the suicide of the murderer. Before a married man kills himself "he also wants to kill his wife or wives and children." A prospector on the reservation would run a serious risk of being killed; otherwise whites are never terrorized, and there is no instance on record in which a scientific explorer has been in any way molested. A medicine man who fell into disfavor was shot in 1900. A few cases of rape were heard of (114).

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The Navaho, except perhaps those around Fort Defiance, are a healthy tribe The most common disorders . . . are those affecting the digestive tract. Like other Indians, the Navaho have learned within recent years to make an inferior kind of bread in which they use much cheap baking powder; besides this the bread is not baked

well, and being eaten in large quantities indigestion necessarily results.

The increasing use of large quantities of black coffee must also have a bad effect. Headache, not infrequently complained of, and vertigo, prevalent to some extent, are probably largely due to disturbance of the digestive organs, although they sometimes follow prolonged exposure to the sun of the habitually uncovered head. Signs of syphilis, especially the tertiary signs, are very rare. The writer has treated or observed one case apparently of typhoid fever, one of infantile paralysis, and one of a moderate degree of dementia and light tremor (in an old man); no other nervous diseases, or insanity, idiocy, epilepsy, or rachitis, were encountered (They) expose themselves much in winter; as a result colds are frequent, and being generally neglected, lead sometimes to more serious pulmonary troubles. Not a few children die each winter from the results of exposure and other privations, and in summer from the eating of unripe fruit or other injurious food (115).

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Navaho medicine-men occasionally engage in very elaborate curing ceremonies. (a.) Frequent use is made of body painting and of dry sand paintings; some of the latter are highly symbolic, as well as artistic in execution.

. . . .

Note (a.) . . . A friendly Navaho medicine-man in Chaco canyon, New Mexico, was induced by the writer, not without difficulty, to perform one of his more ordinary incantations over a patient. Both sat down on the ground in an isolated spot. The medicine-man took in one hand a sort of small club, wrapped around with a piece of old cloth, and beginning to sing seconded the rhythm of the chant by striking the earth between his feet with the club, at the same time passing the other hand over the part of the body of the patient where the pains were. As the patient was only slightly ill, there was no further treatment (116).

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Host'yn Klai (probably Hastiin Tl'a, the "Hosteen Klah" of Newcomb 1964), one of the medicine-men about Chaco canyon, brought to the writer, to sell, a circular piece of sandstone about a foot in diameter, containing on one side an old petroglyph This he said, was a very valuable stone, a little of which rubbed off and administered to a patient would cure almost any disease. The stone was originally much larger, he said, but had already served many sick people, and in this way had become reduced to its present size. The edges of the stone . . . show, in fact, numerous marks due to rubbing, but as to the great virtue of the stone the shrewd old medicine-man must have known, for he gladly sold it for half a dollar (117).

Just how the Navajo viewed Hrdlicka and his investigations is hard to determine, but the fact that he seems to have offered some medical treatment suggests that he was classed as a fellow professional by the local singers, although not without some uncertainties.

Crops for the year were good. Photographs taken by Pepper show corn and pumpkin fields in the canyon, a good corn harvest, and loads of wild hay cut by the women, the latter probably for sale to the trading post. The Navajo farms are identified as those of Niggallito and Huvalupa (118). The former name is probably an English corruption of the Navajo-ized Spanish name Miguelito, but the latter is unidentifiable.

Evidence provided by pollen profiles suggests that really heavy overgrazing in the canyon began about 1898 (119).

It is uncertain how many Navajos were employed in the excavations during the summer, but this additional source of income was undoubtedly significant. Every source was to be important, for the winter of 1898-1899 was a severe one, with heavy snows and extreme cold, and with the thermometer at Fort Defiance recording a low minus 24 degrees F. Losses of livestock were estimated at 20 percent overall, but the greatest loss was among the western Navajos, so that it is probable that the people in the Chaco country did not suffer nearly as much as some (120).

According to McNitt (121), it was in the spring of 1899 that Richard Wetherill first began to expand his trade in Navajo rugs and saddle-blankets. The hardships of that winter may well have stimulated weaving as one alternate source of income at this time and Wetherill perhaps merely responded to the increased availability of these goods. For woven goods he could get 30¢ a pound (122),

while raw wool sold for 8¢ to 12¢ in 1899, and sheep pelts at from 6¢ to 7½¢ (123).

The snow apparently melted off early, for a dry spring slowed planting (124), but rains later in the summer gave promise of a good harvest for those who did plant, and of good range grass to carry stock through the winter. In addition, Navajos living off the reservation to the east had, on the advice of the agent, begun to dig wells, and several had struck water (125).

Again the numbers put to work by the Hyde Exploring Expedition are not known, but in addition to the excavations, more building was done, including an addition of a bedroom to the Wetherills' house, and the construction of two new houses--one a one-room dwelling between Wetherill's house and Pueblodel Arroyo, and the other a nine-room boardinghouse for expedition employees and guests near the southeast corner of del Arroyo (126). It is probable that there was plenty of wage-work for all who wanted it. A report of illegal timber-cutting by Navajos to the east of the reservation (127) may have been based on the felling of trees for sale to Wetherill for use in his building activity, but no location is specified.

In the manner of other traders, Wetherill decided to sponsor a fiesta and chicken-pull at the end of the field season in September. This was one of the few means of advertising available aside from haphazard word-of-mouth efforts, and the providing of food and prizes for the winners of the races and games was sure to attract a good crowd. Some 200 Navajos gathered for the event, and Pepper, ending his last field season, served as time-keeper for the races (128).

That fall saw the first recommendation that angora goats be introduced to Navajo herds--a suggestion that was favorably received in Washington, but how soon it was actually implemented is not known (129). A fair pinyon crop in the Tohatchi area (130) may have been exploited by the Chaco people.

The seemingly idyllic relations between the whites and Navajos at Chaco were not to last long, however. Vicente, a Navajo headman living south of the canyon, had some property, probably livestock, stolen by two white men, said to be William Moore and Ellis Christianson, who worked at a mill at Aztec. Wetherill and Dr. Putnam, who came to visit that fall, tried to assist Vicente in the case, apparently by reporting developments to the agent and helping Vicente contact the sheriff. The latter accepted \$15 from Vicente for his services in arranging a civil settlement of an old wagon, which was delivered, and \$400 to be paid in the future. Perhaps because of failure to make the latter

payment, Vicente had Wetherill write a letter to Hayzlett, the agent. The culprits had avoided criminal prosecution, apparently with the connivance of a deputy sheriff, and Hayzlett, very upset by the handling of the affair, asked Wetherill's assistance in settling things properly (131). Wetherill had offered to help, for his business prosperity was undoubtedly influenced by his relations with the local headman. However, the outcome of the case does not appear to have been recorded.

Early in December, it was reported that Spanish-American herders were trespassing on the reservation. Hayzlett sent one of his Navajo police, Ta Chene Nez (probably Tachii'nii Neez, "Tall Tachii'nii Clansman") to order them to withdraw. Obviously the sheep from the Chama country had arrived for winter range. As either a reaction to Hayzlett's order or as a result of desires to take over the public domain east of the reservation, a petition was drafted about this time complaining of Indians off their reservations:

. . . (They are) trespassing upon, camping upon, and making free use of the lands and property of the people of the country, and committing many depredations, such as the killing of cattle and other stock, and the destroying of crops

Both the Navajos and Jicarillas were accused of these activities. The first signer of the petition was T.D. Burns, and his name was followed by those of 78 Spanish-Americans. None of these names were among those mentioned by Lobato as early stockmen in the area, and it may be presumed that the pioneering generation had already been replaced. None appears in the Swadesh index (132), although many of the surnames are represented in the Chama population. Only one can be definitely related to the Chaco area--Preciliano Martinez, who somewhat later carved his name in several places on the cliffs and rocks of the canyon (133).

One other white man first took an interest in the Chaco country in 1899. Although there is no contemporary record of his presence, Edward Sargent later testified, ". . . I drifted into this country since the fall of 1899, and we have been in there, running sheep continuously from that time until now I have been running sheep in there ever since the fall of 1899 . . ." (134).

A more permanent presence of Anglo Americans with great political influence was to pose a more serious threat than that of the Spanish stockmen. The Navajos had long held their own, with the aid of the influence of the Army and the Indian Service,

but the increasing pressures on the public lands now left little room to maneuver.

In the midst of this confrontation between Indian and white land-users, a new kind of dispute developed--over the rights to excavate in the ruins of the canyon. The outcome was to have long-lasting effects on the region, for it focused Government attention on a country that had long received but casual notice.

Professor Edgar L. Hewett, then of New Mexico Normal University, reported that the work at Pueblo Bonito was nothing but vandalism in the spring of 1900. The General Land Office in Santa Fe dispatched Max Pracht as "special agent" to investigate. Pracht traveled only as far as Durango, where he obtained information for a report from various local citizens with amateur archeological interests. He wrote favorably of the work being done by the Hyde expedition, and no immediate action was taken. The excavations were conducted under Wetherill's supervision during the summer (135).

Hewett renewed his complaints in the fall, finding a powerful ally in a former New Mexico Governor, J. Bradford Prince. An order was issued prohibiting further digging until a more thorough investigation could be made (136). Prince's involvement raises questions of more shadowy interests behind the scenes. No direct evidence to this effect has been found, but Wetherill was expanding his livestock interests, and it is possible that others who coveted range in the region took advantage of political connections to harass him in this manner. In addition, the expanding trading empire that Wetherill and the Hyde brothers were building up may well have aroused competitors.

According to Prince, the Hyde company not only operated a large store at Pueblo Bonito, but had "branches at various points near the Navajo country such as Tiznatzin, Walling's Station &c." (137). Other stores operated by the expedition about this time included Kimbeto, by 1902 (138) and Ojo Alamo (139). A Farmington newspaper reported in February 1901 that the expedition was operating eight stores at Pueblo Bonito, Tiznatzin, Raton (Springs), Ojo Alamo, Escavada (probably Kimbeto), Sautells (unidentified), San Juan, and Farmington (140).

There were other complaints registered regarding the Hyde expedition. In February, Hayzlett was asked to report on a rumor that they were drilling oil wells. He replied that they were drilling only for water and doing so well off the reservation at their Chaco store. He added, however, that they were hauling off "many thousands of dollars worth of pottery and relics," and promised to keep a watch on them (141).

In spite of this opposition, Wetherill was not yet entirely in disfavor with the Federal Government. In April he was appointed postmaster of the newly established post office of Putnam at Pueblo Bonito (142). His chain of trading posts was growing rapidly as well. Whereas in February the expedition owned eight stores, by March they had 12 (143), and by April had added a store at Thoreau. In addition, a freight, mail, and passenger service was operated on a regular schedule from Thoreau to Farmington (144). By May, the expedition's wagons were also serving the trading posts at Little Water and Two Grey Hills (145), suggesting that these were among the new stores acquired. McNitt (146) also lists Largo and Manuelito as stores owned by the expedition at this time.

J.S. Holsinger was sent as special agent for the General Land Office to investigate the archeology of the Chaco country and its need for preservation. He arrived in April 1901, and was apparently scarcely noticed in the midst of the development activity going on at the expedition headquarters. While most of Holsinger's report was concerned with the archeology, it provides another view of Navajo life in the region. He proposed that 23 townships, ranges 7 through 13 West in townships 20 and 21 North, and ranges 11 through 13 West in townships 22 through 24, as well as one section to take in Kin Ya'a, be made a national park (147), and his description is directed primarily to this tract.

Erosion of the main channel of the Chaco was well advanced; the depth was 10 feet to 30 feet, and the width up to several hundred feet. This had an effect on Navajo agriculture (148):

The channel so thoroughly drains the soil that the otherwise fertile lands are unfit for cultivation. The Navajos till the moist sand in the secondary wash, where it widens sufficiently to give them an acreage as it does a few miles below the ruins of Bonito

His description of Navajo fields indicates the continuation of aboriginal methods; planting was in cleared but unplowed fields in widely spaced hills, and the fields small and watered only by rainfall and runoff (149). His depiction of land used within his proposed park is particularly valuable (150):

There is not a bona fide white settler upon the entire area. A number of Navajo Indians reside upon lands along Chaco Canyon, Escavada wash and other tributaries where they cultivate small sand lots by the most primitive methods and graze small herds upon the rocky or sand swept mesas. These semi-moist sand drifts produce meager and uncertain

crops of corn and pumpkins. Each family possesses a small herd of sheep and goats which enables them to sustain a miserable existence in this inhospitable climate. The Indians assert that they have occupied these lands from time immemorial, and that if not overrun by the herds of non-resident Mexican sheep owners, who reside many miles from that locality they would be able to increase their small flocks and live in comparative comfort and independence. The nomadic herdsman, during the summer months, drives his sheep from the valleys to these high mesas where they remain until forced away by short food or the approach of November storms. The poor Navajo must winter his scant herd upon what is left and as a result his sheep become very poor before the spring grass appears and the weaker ones often perish.

The use of the Chaco region as winter range by Spanish-American herders seems well established by all other sources. Holsinger's confusion in regard to the seasonal pattern of white-owned stock movements is difficult to explain, but suggests that perhaps some herds were being kept all year long on the Chaco ranges by this time, as claimed by Sargent. If this was the case, the utilization of the pasturage must have reached a degree of intensity that would sharpen the competitiveness of the various owners and accelerate overgrazing considerably. Holsinger took the Navajos' situation into account in his recommendations (151):

The lands are only valuable as an indifferent stock range; for the extensive pre-historic ruins and as the home of numerous Navajo Indians.

No interest would be injured by reserving the lands or by the establishment of a National Park, unless such reservation would exclude the Indians. What is of no practical value to the white settler for agricultural purposes is ample for the Indians and to deprive them of the land would be robbing them of that which in all its humbleness and poverty is very dear. As a National Park, I take it that the presence of the Navajo would not be detrimental to public interests and that they would not only add picturesqueness and interest to the park but protection to the objects of scientific interest to be preserved. The Navajos, upon principle are opposed to disturbing the cemeteries of these pre-historic people and also their ruined homes. Nothing will induce them to touch a fossil or

"ya-tso" (probably Ye'i tso) as they term it. The Indians have frequently domiciled themselves near to the ruins, as here they find the most available lands; but they are taught from childhood to avoid the ruins where dwell "chin-des" (ch'indi). These ruins are regarded by them much as is the "haunted house" by the white man.

It is apparent that by this time at least that Navajos were living within the canyon proper. Holsinger provides further data to substantiate this point (152):

. . . The Navajo Indians still cultivate the fields under this reservoir (at Peñasco Blanco), although they do not use the old irrigation works.

. . . .

The only thing resembling a living spring is a small seep in a large cavern one mile west of Alta (sic) Ruins, in a branch canyon of the Chaco The Navajos have excavated numerous pits which slowly fill with good, cool water. It is then carried in ollas made of willows and pitch down the canyon to the Navajo hogans The Navajos reside in the canyon

Further indication of Navajo dwellings within the canyon about this time is mention of "Joe's Hogan" not far below Pueblo del Arroyo (153).

The old taboos were being weakened in other ways. At Peñasco Blanco, Holsinger observed about 10 rooms that had been excavated and was told by Wetherill that the digging had been done (154)

. . . by a Navajo Indian who had learned the value of the relics . . . while employed by the Expedition at Pueblo Bonito. In making the excavations, the rooms were entered from above, the entire roof and ceilings being removed as was done at Bonito

Accorrding to one report, the digging was done by "Old Wero," or Welo (155).

Holsinger also reported in some detail on the business enterprises of the Hyde Exploring Expedition. The company had 12 stores and an inventory of over \$100,000. The company's wagons were on all the roads of the region hauling merchandise to the

stores and Navajo blankets, wool, and hides to the railroad. Wetherill had charge locally; Frederick Hyde was general supervisor, with additional duties of selling Navajo blankets in the east. The vigorous competition for the blanket trade had raised the price to \$1.10 to \$1.25 per pound (156).

Wetherill claimed a homestead where the store was located. There were five buildings on this tract, one of which served as his home and as the trading post. The remaining four were actually rooms in one unit, and served as boardinghouse, employees' quarters, stables, warehouse, and blacksmith shop. In addition, four rooms in Pueblo Bonito had been opened and were used as servants' quarters, office, warehouse, and laboratory space; there were a couple of small out-buildings that were perhaps used as sheds. Across the wash to the southwest was a tract claimed as a homestead by Frederick Hyde, but the only structure on it was a Navajo forked-pole hogan built originally for use during Navajo ceremonies and presently used "as a pest house for small-pox patients" (157). Wetherill also stated that his wife, Marietta, had purchased three sections of railroad land, sections 11, 13 and 15, in T21N, R11W (158). This raises questions, for Marietta reportedly did not receive the deed to section 13 until 1906 (159).

The impact of expedition activities on the local Navajo community was great. Aside from trade and employment opportunities, Navajos had a chance to travel more frequently outside Navajo country. Some of these trips merely took them to nearby towns to participate in fairs and fiestas on behalf of the company, as at the Fourth of July celebration in Farmington in 1901 (160), but some of the weavers went with Frederick Hyde to such distant cities as Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia to demonstrate their art (161). Winslow Wetherill, one of Richard's brothers, took both weavers and silversmiths to Philadelphia in November (162).

The great expansion of company activities required the full support of the wealthy Hyde family, and as early as April there are indications that the expenditures were approaching or even passing the limits of what the Hyde brothers' father was willing to invest (163).

Concern about the company's intentions was widespread even beyond the local scene. Charles L. Lusk, secretary of the Bureau of Catholic Missions in Washington, D.C., wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in July to complain of the methods being employed. He based his information upon communications from the Franciscan Fathers on the reservation, as well as upon personal observations during a brief visit the previous November. According to Lusk, the company (164)

. . . then bought all the Navajo Indian trading stores east of the reservation, seven in number. Now they are trying to obtain a permit for a trading store on the reservation, they having bought the store from Noel Bros. at Two Grey Hills. The name of the person applying for the permit is Wetherill, a brother of the Wetherill at Pueblo Bonito, who seems to be the soul and moving spirit of the Company's undertakings. This Co. obviously intends to obtain all trading stores on and off the reservation, making advances to various traders on the reservation to buy them out. The law provides that one person may not have more than one trading store on the reservation, but the Co. will try to place men in these stores who will own them only nominally.

What would be the result if such a Co. owned all the trading posts may be easily imagined. The Navajoes east of the reservation have a foretaste of it already. I am told if the Indians cannot or do not pay at a certain time, they are brought to the store in handcuffs--one Indian he (I suppose Mr. Wetherill is responsible for these actions) had imprisoned in one of the dark excavated rooms of the Pueblo ruins. Besides he takes their horses and saddles, sheep, etc., away by force, of course, in payment of debts.

The Co. is worse than a lot of Russian Jews, crediting the Indians beyond their (the Indians') means, then intimidating them and obtaining more than is due to them--at any rate, they take things from them the law would not allow to be taken from a white man, since they are necessary for their support.

They took some oil lands away from an Indian without compensation; given him by the Agent, when the Indian put the notices given him by the Agent, he tore them up and threw them away. It would seem he undermines the authority of the Agent whenever an occasion occurs.

One of the traders on the reservation told P. Berard, a few days ago, the Co. had urged him to sell his store to them, be employed by them and continue the business in his own name, using his permit as though the store belonged to him

. . . .

.

I must mention another scheme of the Co., namely to give Indians a certain number of sheep under the condition that they give them a certain per cent of the wool and lambs each year. If carried out, how long would it take till the Navahoes would have had the labor and trouble and experience, and the Co. all the sheep back again?

Lusk's susceptibility to prejudice is readily apparent in his letter, but there is confirmation of sorts in other sources for at least some of his accusations, some from sources generally favorable to Wetherill. Joseph Schmedding worked as a cowboy for Wetherill for almost 3 years, starting work about the end of the last excavations (165), presumably in late 1900. As an admirer of Wetherill, Schmedding's memories as recorded in his book reveal a certain disregard of the Navajos' rights, particularly in the matter of the collection of debts. It might be noted that the arrangement that Wetherill made for herding his sheep sounds very much like a standard partido agreement as practiced by the Spanish-Americans.

Wetherill had found a good market for horses. Although he had only a small herd of cattle, he ran a herd that varied from 500 to 1,000 horses, and bought or traded for all the horses he could get from the Navajos (166). Schmedding's description of the collection of horses for one sale shows methods of "foreclosure" that clearly bypassed any regard for formalities. With no notification of the owner, who owed a bill at the store, Wetherill rounded up a number of his horses and sold them to a visiting horse-buyer. One of the owner's relatives recognized the animals in the herd being driven to the railroad and reported the matter. The owner quickly gathered together some 20 followers and accosted Wetherill at his place of business. The Navajos arrived in the evening, all well armed. Wetherill argued with them for some time, and the discussion was adjourned rather late. He ordered all the cowboys to stay at headquarters the next morning, and they assembled in the smithy. Once the Navajos had entered Wetherill's office, the whites drifted in, also heavily armed, stationing themselves so as to block the doorway. Wetherill offered some minor donations in the form of food and fodder, and the Navajos, seeing little alternative under the circumstances, settled for these (167).

Wetherill had appropriated some 24 square miles for his own horse range: the south boundary was Chaco Canyon; the north was a fence along a "wide, sandy wash," which was probably the Escavada; and the east and west ends were closed off by cliffs

and more fence as needed (168). He also had Navajos running sheep for him on their own range under agreements that Schmedding, without details, calls partnerships (169), but that were probably much like the arrangements described above by Lusk.

Debt-collection from reservation Navajos seems to have been a little more tactful than that practiced off the reservation. Wetherill's men were sent to visit the reservation people and they were asked to pay their debts, but it should be noted that on the one trip of this sort described by Schmedding, in which he took part, his companion was Bill Finn (170), a cowboy with an unusually bad reputation even for a member of that rough profession. The dates of these events reported by Schmedding are very uncertain. McNitt (171) implies that Schmedding might have been at Pueblo Bonito as late as 1905 by dating Finn's arrival in 1904 or 1905.

Although the last excavations at Pueblo Bonito were apparently conducted in 1900, later research was accomplished. Richard E. Dodge did a "several" season mapping and study of runoff and deposition after his first field-trip in 1900 (172). In October 1901, Charles Lummis found A.M. Tozzer at work on studies in Navajo linguistics and ethnography. Tozzer had spent late August and early September helping Putnam and others excavate in the vicinity of "Wetherill Mesa," probably present-day West Mesa, where a number of small sites, including several burials, were investigated. The party hired a small Navajo crew, varying from one to four workers, that included Chidanito, Mallano (Mariano ?), Edwin, and Joe. The irregularities of the men's presence on the job gives a good measure of ceremonial activity at the time. On August 19, it was noted that Edwin was absent at a dance. On August 28, both Edwin and Mallano had danced the preceding night and slept that day. On September 9, Edwin took Tozzer with him to a "fiesta" held about 20 miles to the northwest. This "fiesta" lasted several days. On September 11, two men left for it; on the 13th another, leaving the party with only one worker to help pack when they broke camp (173). One additional observation made during the archeological work is of interest. It was noted that one site had been "dug over" by Indians looking for turquoise (174).

Tozzer's interest was especially strong with regard to Navajo religion, and his publications resulting from this field-work are all about this subject (175). In November, Tozzer attended a Nightway, or Ye'i Bichei, held in the canyon near Pueblo Bonito (176a) (176b). There were two patients in this ceremony, but neither they nor the singer are identified by Tozzer, who was permitted to observe the entire ceremony. The sandpaintings are described in some detail in two of his reports,

but whether he copied or photographed them or had copies made by a Navajo is not recorded. He did photograph two sandpaintings produced in the performance of shortened versions of two other ceremonies, one of which is from Windway, and he also attended portions of an Enemyway, the last undoubtedly held earlier during the summer months. His participation in these various activities was apparently without any objections on the part of the Navajos, with the exception of a single attack of hysteria suffered by a woman at the Nightway. This was blamed on the anger of the gods because of the privileges granted Tozzer, and he had to provide the calico used in a simple rite performed to restore the woman (177).

The reasons given by Tozzer for the treatment of the two patients by Nightway are of some interest, even though the patients are not identified. The man had lost his voice, and this was attributed to his having made a mask when he was a boy, and having danced in it in play. The woman suffered a general weakness, and her condition was thought to have been caused by her father witnessing a sacred ceremony while his wife was pregnant (178). One final cultural detail of special interest supplied by this fieldwork is the observation of a bone awl ("the sharpened end of a bone") in use to make holes forming designs in a gourd rattle (179).

Another visit to Chaco, variously reported as having been made in 1901 or 1902, was that of Dr. Kenneth Chapman of Santa Fe, who investigated a report of a Navajo artist working in the area. The Navajo was Apie Begay (reported "Son of Milk," so probably Abe' Biye'), who was drawing sandpainting-like works on paper with red and black pencils. Chapman supplied him with colored pencils, and was later sent several more realistic drawings for the Indian Arts Fund collection (180) (181). The coincidence in time suggests that the drawings may have been stimulated by Tozzer's interest in sandpainting art.

In an introductory note to Washington Matthews' classic publication on Nightway, Putnam penned a final tribute to the scientific endeavors of the Hyde brothers (182):

In the prosecution of this research, a large number of Navaho Indians have been regular employees of the expedition in New Mexico. Gradually there has been brought about a permanent settlement in the Chaco Cañon, where a number of Navahos are constantly employed as workmen, teamsters, herders, and blanket makers, thus affording opportunities for the study of the life and customs of this interesting and industrious people.

The research done at Chaco Canyon was apparently under the sponsorship of the Hyde Exploring Expedition, but little attention was paid to it by those involved in the building of a business empire. By August, the headquarters for the business was being transferred to the Farmington store (183). A party of railroad surveyors visited Pueblo Bonito in November, and expectations of greater commercial development were undoubtedly raised by the prospect of rail service. The company began construction of a new warehouse in Farmington in the same month, and soon started work on an entire business block (184). At Pueblo Bonito, another warehouse was under construction, and there were plans for a hotel and a public school (185). By the end of the month, the head bookkeeper was stationed in Farmington; Pueblo Bonito was only one of the outposts of the system, but a major one nonetheless (186).

The Indian Service watched these developments warily. Efforts to expel Winslow Wetherill from the reservation, where he was operating the Two Grey Hills trading post, were blocked by B.S. Rodey, congressional delegate from New Mexico (187). By March, the Government had issued Winslow a license to trade at the post (188). This also may have been the result of political pressure, for additional complications were to develop from this reservation post.

The Hyde Exploring Expedition had reached the apex of its growth. Early in 1902 it was the purchaser of most of the blankets and pelts brought to Farmington by other traders (189a) (189b), but by the end of January these goods were being sold elsewhere and the company for the first time sold a trading post, that at Tisnatzin, to Jake McJunkin (190). In March, a second post was sold, this time Kimbeto, which was purchased by Percy Starr (191). The costs of overly rapid expansion were clearly being felt.

The spring of 1902 was a promising season. C.C. Pinkney and M.C. Picken had wintered their sheep at Seven Lakes, and they reported in January: "grass exceptionally good, but water scarce. Over 200,000 sheep are in that district where the Indians wisely banked up the water holes and are now reaping a harvest selling it (water) to the stockmen" (192). In March, the stockmen found their sheep still in good condition (193), but the Navajos undoubtedly had little grass left for their own herds. Picken moved his sheep camp to the Zuni Mountains for the summer (194), leaving the grazed-over Chaco country behind. The year was to be a dry one, however, and the range would not recover. Disputes over range began as early in April at San Rafael far to the south, where Hayzlett found it necessary to settle a quarrel between Spanish-American sheepmen and Navajos (195).

A more serious incident took place at the Chico trading post about 24 miles north of Pueblo Bonito. O.H. Buck was operating the store, probably as an employee of the Hyde Exploring Expedition. He also had a herd of goats, and about the end of May or beginning of June, he tried to water them without permission at a neighboring Navajo's water-hole. When refused access to the water, Buck armed himself and shot the Navajo, wounding him seriously in the chest and shoulder (196). A Navajo singer successfully treated the wounded man (197), and Buck settled the affair by paying 100 goats to the aggrieved party. There was no criminal prosecution (198a) (198b).

As range conditions became worse, it was easy for the expedition to hire Navajos and work went forward on developing its holdings. J.W. Benham had been hired as superintendent of construction. The company was reported to have its "chief blanket house" at Pueblo Bonito, where there was a blacksmith shop and a warehouse that would hold 10 carloads of goods; a warehouse at Thoreau; and more trading posts at Two Gray Hills--Ojo Alamo, Largo, Escavada, "and other places." A telephone line was to be built between Chaco and Farmington; 1,500 poles had been cut and distributed along the proposed route (199). The poles had been bought from the Navajos (200). According to local Navajo tradition, this was when the last pine trees in Gallo Canyon were cut. In spite of this activity, the expedition continued to dispose of outlying stores. In June, the Thoreau post was sold to A. Wetherill and William Horabin (201).

The drought lasted into the summer, and the Navajos' condition became more desperate. A Farmington paper ran dramatic stories of destitution, although some exaggeration might be expected, because the editor obviously expected Government aid to the Indians to benefit his own community economically (202-204). It is uncertain just how hard the Chaco country was hit by this drought, for most of the information available seems to pertain to the country closer to the San Juan River, but the corn crop at Chaco was a failure in 1902 (205). However, rains began in July (206), and continued into August, perhaps only intermittently (207) (208).

In July, the Hyde Exploring Expedition was reorganized; Richard Wetherill became sole owner of the Pueblo Bonito store, and was no longer affiliated with the company (209) (210). The Hydies were no longer to support research at the canyon, and the company would not be involved in Chaco affairs except insofar as Wetherill would try to collect any accounts outstanding which might be due it there (211), or perhaps the Hydies might co-sponsor a large delegation of Navajos to attend the territorial fair in Albuquerque (212). However, the sponsorship of Navajo delegation

to the fair was largely a Wetherill family affair. With no corn crop to be tended, large numbers of Navajos were free to take part in the caravan. Winslow Wetherill at Two Grey Hills recruited a party (213); John Wetherill at Ojo Alamo did the same. Apparently, the biggest group was that from Chaco Canyon, led by Richard, and consisting of 200 Navajos and the same number of horses (214).

Twice in 1902, the commissioner of the General Land Office drafted a letter recommending that Chaco Canyon be set aside as a national park--once in April, and again in December--but neither was signed. Both letters repeated Holsinger's conditions that the Indians not be excluded (215). The Government had yet to deal with the protection of both the ruins and the Navajos east of the reservation. The threat that the Hyde Exploring Expedition would take over the entire area, whether real or imaginary, had collapsed of its own weight. However, white stockmen still competed for the region--both with each other, and with the Navajos.

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Chapter 5

THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL: 1902-1909

The troubles on the San Juan had finally caused the Government to station officials there on a permanent basis. The first had been Mrs. Mary L. Eldridge, who apparently arrived in December 1902 and began her work as "field matron" along the river inside the reservation (1). Hayzlett had also received money to initiate construction of irrigation works along the river, largely as a relief measure, and following a survey he assigned the supervision of the work to Additional Farmer Samuel Shoemaker (2a)(2b), who had earlier been sent to the river to investigate the reports of destitution there (3). By January 1903 the distress had reached such a point that direct distribution of food was ordered, with Shoemaker issuing provisions at Eldridge's station and at other points (4).

Reports about the seriousness of the Navajos' situation were quite conflicting, apparently due to the fact that the destitution was localized, and some portions of Navajo country little affected. The Farmington Hustler (5) ran sensational stories, obviously in an attempt to bring as much Government money into the area as possible. Whether the continuing friction between white stockmen and Navajos on the range east of the reservation was being stimulated by a shortage of grass in that region or an abundance that everybody wanted is a matter that allows different interpretations according to the weight given the various sources.

By early January, Picken and Pinkney were back at their winter sheep-camp near Seven Lakes (6), but they seem to have handled their relations with the Navajos with sufficient tact to preclude trouble, and there was probably enough pasturage in that area for all. Closer to the river, F. M. Hamblett, a cattleman, wrote to Washington to complain bitterly, and quite ungrammatically, about Navajos using the same country as he, and about the agent's refusal to clear the public domain for Hamblett's private use (7). The complaint passed duly through channels to Shoemaker, whose report suggests that Hamblett was not the honest and long-suffering rancher he claimed to be. According to Shoemaker, Hamblett had lived in the area for 21 years, and tried to claim all the public domain from the reservation line eastward for 25 miles, and from the river south for an even greater

distance. He had stolen a greater number of horses from the Navajos than he had ever owned in cattle, and the losses of cattle that he blamed on the Navajos were due to natural deaths because of Hamblett's neglect. Even more significant was Shoemaker's observation that all other cattlemen had long since moved out of the area because it was so poorly suited for raising that kind of stock (8).

The winter did bring suffering to the Navajos, but this was the result of heavy snows and extreme cold more than drought. Eldridge wrote that there was more snow in the mountains than in the 10 years past, and that losses of livestock were large (9). Conditions seem also to have been bad at Tiznatizin and Ojo Alamo. The fact that large quantities of blankets, many of Germantown wool, were brought to Farmington by the traders indicates that the women were forced to devote long hours to weaving in order to keep their families fed (10a)(10b). On the other hand, the largest Mountainway or Fire Dance to be held in years took place about 18 miles south of Farmington early in February (11), suggesting that the Tribe was not reduced to the depths of despair that the newspaper stories claimed. Indeed, the Hustler's arch rival, the Farmington Times, quoted Shoemaker as saying "the general condition of the Indians is far from bad" (12). However, stock losses had been severe for many families, causing a shortage of native wool and an increase in weaving with commercial yarn (13). At Pueblo Bonito, Wetherill had a thriving business, and stock was "fairly fat."

With March and the approach of spring, the flow of blankets increased, and the proportion of Germantown rose. Shoemaker had 150 Navajos digging the irrigation ditch about mid-month, and within 2 weeks had 200 on his payroll (14a-14c).

The melting snow left the soil in good condition for grass. Optimistic reports of range conditions appeared from throughout the Eastern Navajo country in April (15a-15c). An unusually detailed account of Chaco Canyon appeared in the May 7 issue of the Hustler (16):

Richard Wetherill passed through town Sunday on his way to Pueblo Bonito, to which point he was driving a bunch of horses and beef cattle which he had been wintering in the valley. While here he purchased several tons of hay . . . to help tide over until the grass is suitable for grazing. He says owing to a shortage of feed, he was compelled to abandon his ditch work for this year and will devote much time to archeological research.

Within a month, the entire country south of Farmington was described as "a veritable lawn," and stock was prospering (17). Wetherill seems to have been doing as well on his own as he had ever done as a member of the Hyde Exploring Expedition. The Wetherills were still at odds with the Navajo Agency, the main cause of trouble being Winslow's store at Two Gray Hills. Hayzlett reported at length on his difficulties with Winslow in July. After accusing Winslow of attempted bribery, he summarized the development of the conflict (18):

It is not a hard matter to explain why he thinks Mr. Shoemaker or myself do not love him. he was granted a License over the protest made by both of us which never should have been done. he opened the store before procuring the license and I had to close it the second time. then when he did get them (sic) over my head he thought he was in position to run matters as he pleased. he bought a lot of sheep of the Indians and was grazing them on the reservation and Mr Shoe-maker being over here and returning via Two Gray Hills I directed him to call on the police located there on his way home and see that he put that stock off the reservation. this he did. hence the lost love.

Hayzlett was replaced by Rueben Perry in August (19), who seems to have been unaware of previous problems and to have tried for some time to work with the Wetherills. About the same time a new position was created on the San Juan, that of superintendent of the new San Juan School and Agency (20). This was filled by William T. Shelton, the Nat'aani Neez who founded Shiprock and for many years directed affairs among the northern Navajos with a firmness seldom equaled in Tribal history. A native of North Carolina, and then a man of 34, he had 10 years of experience with the Indian Service, having been stationed previously at Santa Fe as industrial inspector of agriculture and among the Havasupai as school superintendent (21). Shelton's incumbency was to be marked by bitter controversies, and some of these would involve the Wetherills, especially Richard. For a short while, however, the new administrators and the Wetherills would enjoy a brief respite.

Conditions were good in the Chaco country. There was abundant grass at Pueblo Bonito (22), and Bert McJunken at Tiznatzin reported the Navajos cutting wild hay in such quantity that "there will be enough to supply the traveling public" (23). Some Navajos, at least, were taking advantage of plentiful wage-work to save their money and buy more sheep to build up herds that had been diminished by the previous drought and hard winter (24).

In November the white-owned flocks from outside the region began to come in for winter grazing. Picken moved his sheep from summer range in the Zuni Mountains to the Coal Creek area north of Chaco (25). Spanish-American herders had replaced him in the Seven Lakes section, where they soon became involved in disputes with the Navajos. In response to a complaint from Esquipulo Romero, Perry wrote him to counsel moderation, advising him to get a good interpreter and respect the Indians' rights. He promised to come to Seven Lakes and help settle matters if they could not work them out themselves (26). He apparently soon made the trip, and appointed Bicenti to the position of "government farmer" for the area around Pueblo Bonito. Upon his return, he wrote asking Bicenti to try to recruit 10 children for enrollment in the Indian school at Grand Junction, expecting Richard Wetherill and Petonne Nez (probably Bit'ahnii Neez, "Tall Man of the Bit'ahnii Clan") to assist him. He also instructed him to try to settle any problems between the Navajos and the Spanish-American herders with justice to both sides, and to have Wetherill write a letter for him if something came up that he could not handle, or to come to the agency if he found that convenient (27). His messenger was probably Petonne Nez, who was issued the following letter on the same date (28):

Petonne Nez, Captain of the Police force, will look into disturbances between Navajos and Mexicans and try to settle the same and Mexicans and Navajos are requested to assist him and in matters where they think justice is not done talk the matter over with Mr. Richard Wetherill and if then thought desirable refer the matter to this office.

The policeman has been instructed in the settlement of any differences of this nature to try to do entire justice to all concerned without race prejudice.

Perry also wrote Wetherill on the same day, with much the same information as that in the other two letters, and in addition offered to buy for the agency a team of small sorrel horses that Wetherill had offered to sell earlier (29).

These good relations did not last for long, and the immediate cause of renewed strife between the Government and the Wetherills was the manner of operation of the Two Gray Hills store. A Navajo named Charlie Bit-cil-li, or Rockhouse, had pawned a silver bridle and a concho belt to Winslow for \$27. He had paid a portion of the debt, and went to the trading post to pay the remaining \$11.25 due, only to learn that the pawn had been taken to Richard Wetherill at Pueblo Bonito. Richard denied any knowledge of the pawn, but

Bit-cil-li left the amount due at Pueblo Bonito after being assured that Richard would write Winslow about it. Before he departed, however, a young Navajo woman arrived at the trading post wearing his belt. She told him that she had bought it from Richard for 12 sheep, but learning that it was Bit cil-li's, promptly gave it to him. Richard then took the belt from Bit-cil-li and returned his \$11.25. Bit-cil-li left, and happening upon Agent Perry at another trading post, submitted his complaint to him. Perry gave him a letter to Richard, which he delivered. Upon reading the letter, Richard became quite angry, and informed Bit-cil-li that the matter was none of Perry's business. Bit-cil-li left his money again, however, when Richard again promised to write Winslow. Perry apparently received a letter from Richard acknowledging that he had the belt and the money, and stating that he would return one or the other. In the meantime, Bit-cil-li made another attempt to recover his property, and was again refused. Shelton was asked to intervene, and, meeting Richard in Farmington, brought the matter up, only to be informed that since Pueblo Bonito was off the reservation, the agents "had nothing to do with his affairs" (30a) (30b).

On the same day that Shelton wrote to explain Bit-cil-li's problem, he drafted another letter reporting the results of an investigation he had been ordered to make concerning the needs of the Navajos of the Two Gray Hills area. This investigation resulted in considerable derogatory information regarding Winslow. Winslow, together with a neighboring missionary, had induced the Navajos to work with them to build an improved irrigation system, which not only did not work, but washed out and ruined the Indians' own small irrigation system. Local Navajo opinion of Winslow was not high. They told Shelton that (31)

... he imposed upon them in many instances, charging exorbitant prices for goods; such as \$40.00 for Colt's revolvers, \$18.00 per bunch for imitation coral beads, selling them for the genuine corals, etc.; and that he depleted their herds, and by bull-doing and other ways, secured possession of their goods. They also claim that several hundred dollars worth of jewelry, etc., which he held in pawn, was removed by him from the reservation, and they are now unable to redeem them, though they very much desire to do so.

Thus ended the Wetherills' short honeymoon with the new agents. The ultimate results of this alienation of the Indian Service would be some time in coming, and would be disastrous to the Wetherill interests. In the meantime, Richard and Winslow cooperated in manning a booth at the Saint Louis World's Fair,

where they took Navajo moccasin-makers, weavers, and silver-smiths to demonstrate their crafts and help sell their goods (32). The goods seem to have included the large surplus of rugs built up during the hard times of 1902-1903. Whether any of the pawn that Winslow removed from his Two Gray Hills post became a part of the merchandise taken to Saint Louis will probably never be known.

The sale of whiskey in Indian country was a continuing problem, but because of the increase in problems faced by the agents, its sale among the off-reservation people was receiving little attention. Sometime in late spring or early summer, the use of whiskey by a Navajo living in the Chaco area led to a major tragedy. Shelton learned from one of his policemen that a Navajo, while drunk, had quarreled with his wife. The wife fled to her mother's home, but the man had followed her there and killed the mother. He relayed the story to Perry for investigation, thinking that it fell within his jurisdiction (33).

The killer, a man named Juan, was subsequently arrested and convicted in the Sandoval County court. The Navajos had tried to keep the affair from being known, having the two families involved settle the dispute between themselves by payment in sheep (34).

Both 1903 and 1904 were years of nearly complete crop failure in the Chaco country (35). Navajo dependence on agriculture must have been slight in this region, for three successive years of crop failure did not reduce the population to abject poverty. Stock-raising and wage-work were apparently the major economic activities at this time.

In the fall, the railroad surveyors, working for the Arizona and Colorado Railroad Company, were again at work in the area. Reports in the Farmington newspaper suggested that the proposed line was being surveyed directly through Chaco Canyon (36a-36d). If so, this was an alternate line that was quickly abandoned, for at the same time another line was surveyed well to the west through the eastern portion of the reservation, and it was the maps of this latter route that were filed with the Indian Service (37). The survey also included coal lands (38) that were undoubtedly expected to provide the fuel needed for the engines. While the project never progressed beyond these surveys, the Navajos probably found some extra employment in the surveyors' camps.

Sometime in the autumn there was a severe diphtheria epidemic in the Chaco region. Richard Wetherill had his men burn many of the hogans in which Navajos had died to prevent a spread of the

disease (39). If done without Navajo concurrence, this may also have caused hard feelings among the Navajos.

Assuming that this epidemic is properly dated, it also dates an incident that led to further strains in relations between the Navajos and the Wetherills. Sometime before the epidemic, Hastiin George's wife is said to have purchased a quantity of goods at the Pueblo Bonito post, pledging seven cattle for payment. During the epidemic, George's wife and daughter died, leaving him with two grandchildren (40). The question of this debt and its payment would further complicate Wetherill's dealing with the people. After George's wife died, Wetherill made a claim of a debt of \$60 owing from her estate. He initially demanded 52 sheep in payment. When George demurred, because he considered the number of sheep too great, Wetherill compelled settlement by appropriating 78 sheep. For some 3 years this seemed to settle the matter (41).

A suggestion that white political pressure exerted toward returning all Navajos to the reservation had not subsided appears in a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture to the Secretary of the Interior, which stated that there were reports that Navajo sheep were infected with scabies and were "responsible for spreading the disease to other sheep." The secretary promised to assist the agents in the dipping program (42). The commissioner instructed the various agents in Navajo country to cooperate with inspectors from the Bureau of Animal Industry and to submit estimates for the costs of any dipping plants that might be required (43).

Political efforts to drive the Navajos from the public domain increased in strength in 1905. In January, the New Mexico territorial legislature passed a memorial which made a number of serious accusations (44):

. . . The Navajo Indians . . . are constantly taking up all the waters within a radius of twenty miles of their reservation . . . for the purpose of making sheep men pay them for the water in order to water their sheep. That this has become a great burden upon the sheep men

. . . The taking up of said waters . . . so far outside of their reservation . . . is liable to lead to very serious difficulty if not a war.

. . . The Navajo Indians . . . are constantly violating the Game Laws . . . and are trespassing upon the public domain and the property of the American Citizens . . . by going off their reservations and grazing their

stock on the lands of the citizens, driving the citizens stock from off their own lands and in some instances stealing and destroying the stock

. . . The attention of the Indian Agent at Fort Defiance has repeatedly been called to this state of affairs, but that no diminution of these violations have (sic) taken place, on the contrary, they are constantly on the increase

The memorial ended by asking that the Secretary of the Interior and the Office of Indian Affairs "see that these violations cease" (44).

Shelton had complained of the sale of liquor to Navajos at Largo, Bloomfield, Blanco, Raton Springs, La Posta (Cabezon), and Ojo Alamo, suggesting that a deputy be appointed to investigate (45). Shelton was asked to supply more information about the situation. His report was detailed, but was based largely on secondhand data. He added a number of other places to his list of sources, including Kimbeto, Farmington, Fruitland, and Durango. Some of the information he supplied was directly relevant to the Chaco area (46):

I have talked from time to time with parties who are not in sympathy with this whiskey selling and some of them have furnished me with the names of persons who would probably make good witnesses. At Largo and Kimbeto D. H. Self, Ily N. Self and Sam Snyder could give information if they were so disposed. It is said that J. P. Martin sells whiskey to Indians at Largo. Christopher Domingus, Jack Cunce and David LaBota are said to sell whiskey to Indians near Kinbeto. At La Posta a man named Holland runs a joint that has the reputation of furnishing Indians with whiskey.

. . . The first of this month Elt McJunkin and J. W. Reagan brought the news to Farmington that an Indian had got drunk and froze to death a few miles east of Pueblo Bonita (sic). . . .

In January, an inspector from Albuquerque visited Fort Defiance and confirmed reports of scabies in Navajo herds. Perry submitted estimates for the construction of dipping-plants at three locations on the reservation, and for renovating the old plant at Fort Defiance. He found the Navajos favorably

disposed to plans for dipping their sheep (47). The preparations for dipping progressed slowly, largely because the production of lumber from the Government sawmill was below expectations (48). Perry's plans do not appear to have taken the needs of the off-reservation people into account.

In April, a temporary withdrawal of lands in the Chaco area for protection of the ruins was signed by the Secretary of the Interior. The tracts included were T21N, ranges 10 and 11 west, section 32 of T21N, R12W, and section 12 of T20N R8W (49a)(49b). Apparently as a result of this action, the General Land Office sent Frank Grygla as special agent to investigate Wetherill's homestead claim. He was in Chaco Canyon on June 27 and 28. He reported that Wetherill had planted 60 acres of corn, 5 of wheat, and 2 of vegetables, and that his crops were doing very well without irrigation. Wetherill claimed to be grazing 5,000 sheep; 50 head of "range stock" (presumably cattle); and 200 horses. He also had 400 chickens and 100 "tame rabbits." Grygla reported that six rooms and a kiva had been excavated, apparently the result of recent digging by Wetherill. Grygla strongly supported Wetherill's homestead application (50).

Efforts to acquire title to the land were not limited to the whites. During the preceding winter, Navajos under the leadership of Bicenti and Benath Lapihe Begay (Binaa' libahi Biye', "Gray Eyes' Son") had raised \$285 to send the two headmen to Washington to ask for an extension of the reservation to the east. The agents had asked them to wait until they could make an investigation and write recommendations on the subject.

In July, Perry visited the Eastern Navajo country. He found that the people there had made a number of reservoirs to store stock water. In cooperation with Shelton, a letter was drafted asking that a tract be given to the Navajos that was 24 miles wide west to east, with the southwestern corner at the southeastern corner of the reservation, and 70 miles south to north. As justification they stated that the Navajos had lived on this land for many years--even before being taken to Fort Sumner--and that upon their return they had settled in their old homes. The Navajos had peacefully occupied the area until "six or seven years ago," when Spanish-American herders had begun to bring in flocks that used up their grass and water, and "that these Mexicans have stolen a great many of their horses, cattle and sheep and have killed some Indians." They also complained about the introduction of whiskey, which had caused poverty and immorality. With an extension of the reservation they would be enabled to farm and graze livestock in peace.

They were trying to obey the law, and were sending "most" of their children to school.

The agents accepted the Navajo reasoning, but noted that the railroad grant was an obstacle to the extension asked by the Navajos. Still, they also wanted the reservation extended, or at least a smaller area reserved that would include the best farm and pasture lands. If neither could be done, they wanted a program begun to assist the Indians in filing on their lands. They were in favor of a trip to Washington by two or three of the headmen to present their case directly to the commissioner (51).

The apparent increase in grazing by Spanish-American herders seems to date to about the time of the taking over of the sheep industry by Anglo-American owners in the Chama country, and to the beginning of the appearance of inscriptions with Spanish names in the Chaco area. It is not unlikely that the earlier herders had been illiterate people working as partidarios for more educated owners. When the owners lost their herds to Anglo businessmen, they in turn became the partidarios. Perhaps due to resentment at their reduced status, and to a stronger feeling of social distance between themselves and the Navajos, they became involved in more disputes on the range than had the earlier herders.

In October, Shelton reported that the Denver & Rio Grande railroad had been extended from Durango to Farmington (52). This would facilitate commerce, but not all reports for the month showed much progress. Perry, in a letter about the dipping program, noted that the agency sawmill had burned, and that the delay in getting authority to purchase lumber, in receiving bids, and in awarding a contract and thus delivery, had held up the construction of the dipping-plants so greatly that cold weather had come before they could be put into use (53).

In January 1906, Richard Wetherill claimed that his principal business was stock-raising (54). He was, however, still engaged in trading with the Navajos, and his disputes with them may have arisen from both trading and ranching. In April, he was accused of killing a steer belonging to Little George. Three Navajos--Hosteen Chee (probably Hastiin Lichii, "Red Man"), Hosteen Biyah, and Joe Mulmachee--had witnessed the incident, and Perry thought it might be possible to prosecute Wetherill (55). However, Wetherill learned of the agent's interest in the affair, and fearing that he was in a weak position, settled with Little George by giving him a wagon. Another Navajo who had had two burros killed near Pueblo Bonito was unwilling to press charges (56). This latter man was apparently Navajo George. Chees chil le

(Ch'ii'ischili, "Curley Hair") witnessed the killing of two of George's burros about this time, and said that Wetherill shot any Indian horses or burros that strayed into his pasture, then cut them open and put poison in them to kill coyotes (57).

Chees chil le described several events in Wetherill's dealings with the Navajos. None are precisely dated, but all happened within a period of about 2 years. In addition to those mentioned above, he alleged that Wetherill had stolen horses from Hosteen-nol-ge-she, although he himself had not witnessed this. However, he had been subjected to some of Wetherill's extreme methods of collecting debts. In one case, Wetherill had handcuffed him and threatened to take him to Aztec if he did not settle a debt. Chees chil le gave him some sheep and promised to bring in a blanket, which he did within a few days. On another occasion, Wetherill threatened to kill him with a butcher-knife if he did not make payment on a debt that day. Chees chil le paid off the debt in sheep (58).

But the agents had too many other duties to keep a close watch on Wetherill's doings off the reservation. The problem of dipping Navajo sheep, which became an issue in the white stockmen's efforts to drive the Eastern Navajos onto the reservation, was to require much of their energies through the year. The Bureau of Animal Industry was reluctant to take charge of dipping the off-reservation sheep, because the Navajos would be liable for the expenses incurred, and because it would probably become necessary to take possession of most of their small herds to cover the costs, leading to difficulties they felt poorly prepared to face (59). Perry had all he could do to dip the sheep on the southern half of the reservation. The Bureau of Animal Industry had sent only one inspector to supervise the dipping, which meant that only one of the three dipping-plants that he had erected could be used. At a rate of 3,500 sheep per day, he estimated that the job would take 6 months (60). Shelton encountered another problem. He was instructed to see that the sheep off the reservation were dipped, but the distances were too great for the herds to be driven to his plants on the reservation. The Washington office would not allow him to issue the equipment to the off-reservation people, and he feared that if he merely loaned it, it might be damaged, and he would be liable for the costs. He also did not think that the Navajos would be easily persuaded to dip their animals (61).

Complaints were being received from the white stockmen. The Sheep Sanitary Board of New Mexico asserted that Shelton had done nothing to eradicate scabies among the sheep of the northern Navajos, either on or off the reservation. They suggested that Indian police be used to drive all Navajo sheep to the reservation, and that none be allowed to leave without inspection by the Bureau of Animal

Industry, to ensure that none carried disease onto the public domain (62). Governor H. J. Hagerman made a similar recommendation, citing a complaint from A. Eichwald of Cuba (63).

While the stockmen were urging action to move Navajo stock off public lands, the Indian Rights Association made allegations against Shelton of a similar nature, and urged the establishment of dipping-vats off the reservation. S. M. Brosius of the association had visited the Navajos near Huerfano, and commented upon the great distance they would have to drive their stock if required to dip on the reservation. He noted that suitable weather for dipping would not last much longer that year (64). He later wrote that he had learned that Shelton had loaned to the people near Huerfano a unit so small that only one sheep could be dipped at a time, and that he had refused to send anyone to instruct them in its use (65).

The many complaints brought instructions from the commissioner that Shelton explain his actions. He replied at length, defending his policies in the light of instructions issued him from Washington, and listing, in order of date of establishment, the dipping-plants he had built during the year. There were 24, all but one of which lay on the reservation. The plant lying off the reservation was obviously the one Brosius mentioned as being near Huerfano, although Shelton described it as being near Simpson's store, which could have been correct if it were located between the two places, Shelton also referring to the location as "at the head of Gallego Canon." He explained that his reluctance to situate this expensive Federal property off the reservation was due to the fact that it would be near "settlements where Mexicans and whites are not any too friendly to the Indians for fear that they will be destroyed or removed." He had finally relented for the benefit of the people of this one location (66a)(66b).

However, on Nov. 10th Hosteen Wero, together with several other Indians, came with four 4-horse teams for one of these dipping outfits, and I loaned them one of the largest sized vats, also a water heater and other equipment, together with 800 feet of lumber, 50 lbs. of nails, 2000 lbs. of sulphur dip, and 200 gallons of tobacco dip. The vat ... is of the same size as that generally used throughout this section by sheepmen, and has a capacity for the dipping of 1500 sheep a day. At the time this ... was loaned to these Indians the Farmer in charge of the sheep industry and his force were installing a dipping plant at the mouth of Montezuma creek I told the Indians that they would be home in a few days and that I would send them immediately

to their settlement to install the plant. This was fully understood by the Indians and entirely satisfactory to them I did as I promised ... sending the farmer, a carpenter and Indian assistant The Indians to whom I loaned the vat would not have taken the vat had I insisted on their returning it when they were through. I told them I had requested authority from your Office to allow the vat to remain there, and that if the authority was not received the vat would have to be returned. They did not, however, promise to return it.

Shelton asked authority to issue five plants to the off-reservation communities (66a)(66b). The farmer at the Shiprock agency was Charles Pinkney(67). It would appear that both Shelton and Perry were doing everything within their limited means to effect the dipping of Navajo sheep. In spite of this, agitation demanded that the Department of Agriculture place a quarantine on the reservation. The Secretary of Agriculture was reluctant to take such drastic action, however, and wrote the Secretary of the Interior to ask what further action that department would take (68).

Reports about crop conditions that year are conflicting. The Farmington Times-Hustler (69) reported both crops and range doing well in Navajo country late in July, but Shelton had earlier warned of the probable need for assistance because grasshoppers were destroying much of the crop. Range conditions were good, and the Navajos would have to depend on their livestock, wage-work, and possibly rations to get through the coming winter (70). It is apparent that any movement to drive off-reservation herds off public lands would have worsened matters further.

The Navajos were not without friends among the local whites, however. William Horabin, a trader at Thoreau, spent time helping nearby Navajos to file for allotments on a lake they had dammed in his vicinity. Charles Largo Platero and Jose Largo had directed the development of the lake, but now Spanish-American herders were invading their territory and using up their grass and water (71). Whether Horabin would have taken as much interest if the trespassers had been Anglo-Americans is uncertain, but George Howard at Seven Lakes was willing to write on behalf of a Navajo--Kiatonito--when a fellow Anglo usurped the range there (72). Fred Tsosi Chis Chiliazzi recalled the event some 30 years later, with fair accuracy, but apparently from his childhood memory (73):

... The Navajos were pretty well fixed and we had only one store, a place called Seven Lakes ... and my father

and uncle that used to have lots of stuff (livestock) used to trade there. There was a certain old man had the store at Seven Lakes, and after he died here comes a cowman right there at Seven Lakes and he leased, as I understood it at the time, a township 6 miles square, where the Indians were running their stuff. They got under that fence, and then afterwards they were told to lease this land from now on; no more free range. From there on the white stuff began to come in and the Navajos were getting short on range

Two events that were to have long-range effects in the region are recorded for the year. In October, George A. Keepers arrived in Farmington, where he was to make his headquarters while beginning an allotting program for the off-reservation Navajos (74). That same fall, the U.S. Geological Survey did a study of the coal deposits of the region. The map of the survey shows a number of stores or settlements in the Chaco region. Near the Chaco wash, the closest to the reservation line was Tiz Natzin. Above this, in order, were Shawver's store, Putnam, Mariana's store, Pueblo Alto, and Raton Spring. To the north were Ojo Alamo, Pina Veta China, and Simpson's store. Neither Kimbeto nor Seven Lakes appears on the map, but both were in existence at this time, and it is probable that only enough detail was included to help locate the extent of the coal. The geologist reported in his text that there was a trader at Seven Lakes, but did not note it on his map. He also recorded that the Wetherills had in 1905 opened a coal mine on the south side of Chaco Canyon, about a mile below Pueblo Bonito, and had excavated a 30-foot tunnel into the coal (75).

Bootlegging had become well established in the Chaco country. About this time there were three men selling liquor: Albert Starr, at Star Lake; a man named Montoya, at Raton Springs; and John Clark, about 6 miles north of Seven Lakes (76).

Perry left the Navajo agency in November 1907, and was replaced by William H. Harrison (77). After Wetherill's death Perry made a deposition which summed up his opinions of Wetherill as he had known him during his 4 years at Fort Defiance. By the time Perry finished his duties as Navajo agent, Wetherill's reputation had declined greatly (78):

That this affiant knew Richard Wetherill ... that Mr. Wetherill was a hospitable, pleasant man to meet, was educated and cultured, but his reputation for honest dealings is not good; and that affiant gained his knowledge of Mr. Wetherill through meeting him, being

at his house and through reports made by trust-worthy Indians relative to the treatment received by the Indians

That Mr. Wetherill was known to keep policemen of his own appointment and enforce the payment of debt by taking Indian stock without due process and in violation of law; and that his enforcement of the payment of indebtedness reached the extent of imprisoning Indians in underground rooms of the old Aztec ruins at Pueblo Bonito, this manner of punishment having been resorted to by Mr. Wetherill prior to the time this affiant assumed charge of Navajo Agency, but this affiant received information regarding such imprisonments from Indians and from his predecessor in office who had investigated the matter;

That Mr. Wetherill had the disposition of endeavoring to convince the Indians that no authority had more power over them than he and that he was not amenable to any wish of the Superintendent or other Indian authority; and that affiant knows that people best acquainted with the Navajo Indian--J. Lorenzo Hubbell for instance--believe their protection lies in upholding the authority of Superintendents and Agents rather than in causing the Indian to have contempt for the authority of Superintendents and Agents

By 1907, the legal status of land holdings began to approach that of the present. The allotting activities begun the previous year continued, and toward the end of the year a temporary extension of the reservation by Executive order gave greater security to the people during the process. White ranchers continued to utilize the land by leasing railroad lands, and the ruins were finally included in a national monument. With the approach of these changes, the urgency of establishing claims to lands became greater than ever, and the strategems of the whites to oust the Navajos became more insistent.

Early in the year, a report was asked of the agents and superintendents concerning their success in eradicating scabies. Shelton, in his usual style, wrote the most vigorous defense of the off-reservation people and explanation of their problems. He described those under his jurisdiction as living at Westwater or Navajo Springs north of the San Juan, "along Canon de Ojo Amarillo, at the head of Gallego Canon, and perhaps a few at the head of Canon Blanco," adding that their sheep-range extended into

the hills between the canyons. He asserted "that their right should be recognized as that of prior and continuous occupancy, and if white or Mexican sheep men come upon such territory they are trespassing, and if their sheep are contaminated by coming in contact with the Indian sheep it is not the fault of the Indians." He reviewed his progress in establishing dipping-plants and his problems with bureaucratic regulations in the course of trying to help the people on the public domain. He could note that 75,000 sheep had been dipped under competent supervision during 1906. He was the first to note a degree of natural resistance to scabies in the native Navajo sheep, stating (79):

... No live scab was found and but very little dead yellow scab. These sheep being inbred and near the wild sheep in characteristics are not subject to scabies, and other diseases, as are the finer bred sheep I will guarantee that less scabies can be found among the Navajo sheep off, as well as on the reservation, than among the sheep belonging to white people in this section of New Mexico.

He ended the letter with an accusation about what was becoming increasingly apparent (79):

... In my opinion the New Mexico authorities are not so much interested in the sheep belonging to the Navajo Indians as they are in driving the Indian, as well as his sheep, back onto the reservation, and getting the exclusive use of the grass on the public domain for the use of the white sheepmen of this territory, particularly those owning large flocks. I believe that all this agitation is for the purpose of driving the Navajos sheep onto the reservation to prevent them from using the grass and water off the reservation to which they are as much entitled as the white people.

Harrison, so recently appointed to the position of agent at Fort Defiance, asked Perry for information before drafting his report. Perry could inform him that about 400,000 sheep had been dipped under his supervision, some 100,000 to 150,000 of them from off the reservation, and some herds driven as much as 150 miles to reach the dipping-vats. The Indians had given much less resistance to the dipping program than had some of the Spanish-Americans. Perry had even assisted some Navajos with "dipping material" so that they could use the facilities at Grants, which was closer to their range than any on the reservation. He also had noted ulterior motives in the complaints against Navajo sheep (80):

I have found more or less friction between the nonresident Navahos and Mexican and white sheep owners who desire to monopolize the entire public domain and I fear that the spirit that prompted the citizens of the two Territories to complain of the infection of the Navaho sheep and ask that they be quarantined upon the reservation was more from a desire to have possession of the public domain for their own flocks than from the fear of the spreading of the infection by the Navaho sheep grazing off of the reservation.

In the meantime, the State of New Mexico renewed its complaints. At the request of various unnamed state legislators, Governor Hagerman wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, calling attention to Joint Memorial No. 9 of 1905 and his earlier letter regarding the dipping of sheep. He asked that an investigation be made, and should the alleged danger of serious conflict exist, "such steps be taken by the Indian Bureau as may be necessary" (81). Hagerman's letter shows quite commendable restraint. In view of his later role in Navajo affairs, his early attitudes are of some significance. The impression given by his correspondence while Governor is that of a relatively impartial administrator forwarding the requests of his charges with some moderation. Nonetheless, the general attitude in Santa Fe cannot have been especially favorable to Navajo interests. Harrison, who seems to have been relatively inexperienced in bureaucratic procedures, was apparently equally ignorant of the political currents.

Early in March, Harrison made a trip into the eastern region, meeting allotting agent Keepers at Seven Lakes (82). Shortly thereafter, he began preparations for the 1907 dipping, proposing two additional dipping-plants, but not specifying where these were to be located (83). However, at the same time he began to take steps to protect the homes and water sources of the off-reservation Tribesmen. Writing to the U.S. Land Office in Santa Fe, he requested that an extensive tract be withheld from entry by any except Navajos, including all lands in townships 17 to 28 north, ranges 5 to 14 west (84). He sent a copy of this letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, along with a suggestion that the Washington office "try to induce" the railroad to cease leasing or selling its lands in the Navajo checker-board country, noting that many of the Indian improvements were on railroad sections (85).

No record of the reaction to Harrison's attempt to usurp the powers of the President to withdraw lands from settlement has come to light other than a simple disallowal of his request (86). He also wrote a description of his journey through the Eastern Navajo

country that justified his aims in, if not his means of, trying to attain them. He had gone by way of the southeastern corner of the reservation to Seven Lakes and thence to Pueblo Bonito, from which point he turned southward to Chavez, Thoreau, and Guam, all on the railroad. Along the way he passed six lakes: two between the reservation boundary and Seven Lakes; two at Seven Lakes; and two near the railway, one of which was described as being 10 or 12 miles north of Thoreau--probably present-day Smith Lake. By following stock trails, he also found nine small seep springs, and concluded that there were many more such minor watering places. He had Keepers begin allotting all those portions of the lakes that were not within railroad sections. His description of general conditions was rather stark (87):

... I have never met Indians who realize their position more fully and who seem to fear the loss of their homes and countries greater than do the Indians that I have met on this trip as it is a fact that white and Mexican sheep and cattle owners are filling the country and actually driving many of these people from watering places that they have used their entire lifetime. It was reported that one of these owners or herders had actually torn the home of an old Indian woman down and appropriated the timber to his own use.

... If these watering places and if this territory can be reserved for these Indians they would have a permanent independent living and to many of them considerable prosperity ... but if the country becomes filled with the stock of white and Mexican sheep and cattle men it seems to me that the Indian will be driven from this territory back on to the reservation which so far as I have been able to see is already over stocked thus causing a hardship on the Indians that are now on the reservation and doing the ones that are off of the reservation no good

He recommended extending the reservation 30 or 40 miles eastward and beginning a program to develop the water more thoroughly, or, should this not be possible, allotting all current and potential watering places so as to give the Navajos control of the range. The allotting work would require one more allotting agent if the job were to be accomplished before the whites took over the region (87).

The commissioner, having received replies to his request for information about the status of the off-reservation Navajos, drafted a report that strongly supported their rights on the public

domain and refuted the allegations of the New Mexican stockmen, and noted that it had been 2 years since the drafting of the joint memorial, but that no war or even serious trouble had yet occurred (88).

He followed this up with his report on the scabies-eradication efforts, quoting at length from the reports of the various officials in charge of Navajo administration at various posts. He concluded that significant progress had been made, that the Navajos were accepting dipping as something beneficial for their animals, and that in spite of the large territory to be dealt with, he believed that "all the sheep will be subjected to treatment within a reasonable length of time" (89).

While the allotting progressed, one major tract was allocated in a different manner. On March 11, Theodore Roosevelt issued a Presidential proclamation establishing Chaco Canyon National Monument (90). However, this had no immediate effect on Navajo life in the canyon. More important to the residents of the area was an event reported in the Farmington paper on February 7 (91):

Murdock McKenzie, one of the old wheel-horses of the Upper San Juan, came in from Pueblo Bonito the latter part of last week with a load of Indian pupils for the Grand Junction and Shiprock schools.

These may not have been the first children of Chaco families to attend school, but it is the earliest record found of any sizable number going from the area.

As spring approached, preparations for the next round of sheep-dipping advanced. Harrison decided to locate a vat near the southeast corner of the reservation to make dipping easier for the off-reservation people. He called a meeting of the headmen at Fort Defiance in April to urge support for dipping (92a) (92b). By the end of the month, he had selected Togay Spring for the dipping-plant, and work on its construction was underway (93).

The wool season was already underway. The first carloads of wool to be shipped from the railhead at Farmington had already gone out (94). Harrison's meeting of the headmen took place May 15-16, and led him to believe that the Navajos were ready and willing to dip all of their sheep (95a)(95b). Shelton, with his smaller vats, was giving priority to the off-reservation herds (96):

... I have placed sufficient number of dipping plants east of the reservation to properly handle all of the

sheep belonging to the Indians under my charge living off of the reservation, and have placed a force of men in that section to dip the Indians sheep and have given instructions to them not to return to the reservation until every sheep belonging to Indians under my charge off of the reservation was properly dipped. I have received word from the farmer in charge of this work that about 16,000 sheep have been cleaned, and they are still at work.

Shelton was at odds with the Bureau of Animal Industry, reporting that they had failed, until July 1, to send inspectors to supervise the dipping, which began on June 17, and claiming that an investigation of scabies in the off-reservation area by a Dr. Imes had been inaccurate in distinguishing between Navajo herds under Shelton's charge and herds owned by whites (96).

The energetic approach of the Indian Service to the scabies problem was rapidly undermining the arguments of the whites, whose flocks were infected worse than the Indian flocks. The allotting program alarmed the livestock interests and only a direct assertion of the superiority of white rights to Indian rights remained. One of the largest Chama valley owners who sent his sheep to winter in the Navajo country, T. D. Burns, wrote a vigorous protest to W. H. Andrews, New Mexico's delegate to Congress. Written on the letterhead of his mercantile business, headquartered at Tierra Amarilla, his letter appeared to be no more than a communication on behalf of his clientele there and in Park View and Chama, where he had other stores, and gave no indication of his personal involvement in sheep raising (97):

I have just been informed, (I do not know how much truth there is in it), (not any I hope), that the Navajoes or at least some of them have been located on the Blanco Cañon, and in other lands in its vicinity by the government and that the land has been surveyed and already delivered to the Indians.

Now, if this is the truth, it will ruin Rio Arriba County For years hundreds of Navajoes have been living and taking up all the lakes outside of their reservation, and the sheep men of this county, Sandoval and Bernalillo and other counties have had to pay them for water for their sheep, and the Indians would not permit them to graze within three or four miles of the lake

Now to give them more land would deprive the people of the territory, and more especially the people of this county and San Juan of any place to pasture their sheep and cattle. If it is true that the government has given more land to the Indians it must revoke its order and have them go back to the reservation or there will (be) bloody war between the people and the Navajoes

....

Since writing the above I have been reliably informed that it is true that the land has been turned over to the Indians and that this spring while the sheep men were lambing on the grounds they were compelled by Government Officials to move their flocks, and as this was during the lambing time it caused a great loss to the owners. I understand that the transfer of those lands to the Indians was for the privilege granted by them to a man in New York to prospect for gold or other precious metals in the Cariso (sic) mountains. Unless something is done to remedy this there will surely be trouble between the people and the Indians. The people have stood all they can of this.

Andrews forwarded the letter to C. F. Larrabee, then acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and added his support to Burns' complaint, opposing any enlargement of the Navajo reservation on the grounds that it would work a hardship on the "native Mexicans" (98).

Larrabee was staunch in his defense of the Navajos, replying without even taking the time to get further opinions from his superintendents in the field (99):

The Office is at present, through Special Allotting Agent George A. Keepers, making allotments to Indians in northwestern New Mexico under the 4th section of the act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 388) as amended by the act of February 28, 1891 (26 Stat. L., 794). It is now and has been the policy of the Office to encourage the breaking up of tribal relations and the taking of lands in severalty that the Indians may become an integral part of the communities in which they reside. And it is believed that there is no better way of accomplishing this than by allotting them lands under the above named act, whereby they will come in contact with white men and profit by such association. Nor is it believed that any great injury will be imposed upon actual

bona fide settlers by the adoption of this policy, for such settlers have equal privileges of obtaining title to 160 acres of Government land as have the Indians; and while it is true that it may deprive the sheep and cattle men of range for their stock, it is also true that there is absolutely no authority of law for the grazing of sheep and cattle on the public domain.

The duty the Government owes its wards to provide the means whereby they may become self-sustaining, is paramount to any right which the cattle and sheep men have to vacant public lands. For these reasons the Office must continue to secure permanent homes for the Indians residing on the public domain by allotting them lands under the 4th section of the act above named.

The sheep owners of the Chama drainage made other efforts to consolidate their holdings on their preferred winter range. Toward the end of August there was a report in the Farmington paper (100):

Ed Sargent, brother of the Territorial Auditor, and Mr. Rush, both of Rio Arriba County, came in on the train yesterday and went out to Pueblo Bonito to look over the holdings of Richard Wetherill. Mr. Sargent has made a lot of money out of sheep in the past few years and is evidently figuring on spreading out over more territory.

This hint that Wetherill was thinking of selling his interests in 1907 may be indicative of a change in his fortunes for the worse, but better evidence exists to substantiate the conclusion. It was the year of the "Roosevelt panic," when the price of sheep fell sharply (101). Thus Schmedding (102), whose dates are sometimes a bit imprecise, is undoubtedly correct in giving this as the event that inflicted financial damage from which Wetherill never recovered.

The sheep-dipping program was continued vigorously. By July 3, Shelton could report that 30,000 sheep belonging to the off-reservation people had been dipped. He estimated that another 30,000 remained, and that it would require another 2 weeks of his farmer's time before he could begin work on the reservation (103). On August 15, the Farmington paper noted that C. C. Pinkney, who was in charge of the work, had dipped 65,000 head (104), and it is therefore possible that all the herds on the public domain under Shelton's jurisdiction had received treatment.

In September, Shelton, in replying to a suggestion that the off-reservation population be placed under the charge of the

superintendent of the Fort Lewis Indian School--a move that he successfully opposed--listed the eastern "settlements" under his jurisdiction as being O-ho-al-a-mo (Ojo Alamo), Tis-me-zin (Tiznatzin), Kin-be-to, Waro's camp, Pino-vega-chine (Pinabete Chino), Es-ca-ba-da (Escavada), and Tsya (Tsaya). He noted that his dipping-plants had dipped over 50,000 sheep in the area, but indicated that not all of these sheep had yet had the required second dipping (105).

The proposals to extend the reservation to the east finally brought results. Harrison was instructed to describe the lands that should be taken in by an expansion both to the east and south. The area within New Mexico that he included was (106):

From the southeast corner of the present extended Navajo reservation to the southwest corner of township 17N. R. 13 W. eastward to the southwest corner of township 17 N. R. 5 W., thence northward to the north east corner of township 22 N. R. 5 W.; thence westward to the north west corner of township 22 N. R. 13 W.

....

Township 16 N. Ranges 7 to 20 west, inclusive; together with Township 15 N. Ranges 8 to 15 west except that portion of township 15 lying in Range 15 which is occupied by Fort Wingate Military Reserve

F. E. Leupp, the commissioner, had conferred with some of the affected Navajos when he visited them in 1906 (107a)(107b), and was favorably disposed to their cause. On November 6, he sent to the Secretary of the Interior a draft for an Executive order for a temporary withdrawal to protect the Navajos on their lands until they could all be given allotments. He strongly urged that the proposal be approved (108). It was contemplated that by allotting all water sources to the Navajos, it would be possible for them to control the range even after the withdrawal was lifted (109). Theodore Roosevelt, on November 9, signed a simple withdrawal "from sale and settlement," which made the extension "an addition to the present Navajo Reservation." The area withdrawn was extensive, and included a major tract south of the reservation boundaries, as well as to the east. The portion that encompassed the Chaco region was described as (110):

Commencing at a point where the east line of the Navajo Indian Reservation, as at present constituted, intersects

the north boundary of township twenty-three north, range thirteen west, New Mexico Meridian; thence due east to the northeast corner of township twenty-three north, range five east; thence south to the southeast corner of township seventeen north, range five east; New Mexico Meridian; thence west to the first guide meridian; thence south on the said guide meridian to the southwest corner of township fifteen north, range nine west; thence west to the southwest corner of township fifteen north, range fourteen west

The two citations to "range five east" were in error, and would extend the reservation much further than intended or justified. Public opposition was quickly aroused. Although the mistake was corrected to range five west, a potential for adverse public attention had been created that would not be lost on the opponents of the extension (111). A separate jurisdiction, the Pueblo Bonito school and agency, was authorized about this time (112a)(112b), but implementation of the new organizational entity was delayed.

Harrison continued to exercise jurisdiction over the Chaco area, with newly increased authority. Shortly before Christmas he wrote for instructions regarding the large numbers of traders located within the new extension, whether they should be licensed, and what action he should take regarding a trader who was ranging "many thousands of sheep" on the land involved (113). The trader with the many sheep was almost certainly Richard Wetherill. Trouble enforcing the new authority over Wetherill developed even before the questions of licensing and use of range came up. George, who believed that he had long since paid all his late wife's debts at Wetherill's store, found that Wetherill had taken possession of seven head of cattle without his knowledge. He failed to get satisfaction from Wetherill and took his complaint to Harrison, who wrote the trader asking for his side of the story (114). Wetherill apparently did nothing about the complaint, for Harrison received another visit from George in June to ask again for help in settling the matter. Harrison again wrote Wetherill, and wanted a full account of how the claim was settled (115). Peter Paquette replaced Harrison at Fort Defiance in July (116), and the problem was not followed up by that agency. Shelton, however, visited Pueblo Bonito in July and included a description of the incident in his report on his trip (117):

... Mr. Wetherill took one of his hired white men and an Indian man and went to the home of an Indian named George, who lives seven or eight miles away, and selected seven of the best cattle, four or five years old, out

of this man's herd while he was absent from home, drove them away and sold them. When the Indian returned and found what had been done, he went to see Mr. Wetherill, who told him that he had bought the cattle from his wife before she died four years ago, paying her ten dollars each for them, with the understanding that he was to get them whenever he got ready. The Indian claims and can prove that the cattle did not belong to his wife, and says that if his wife had been paid seventy dollars in money he would have known of it. Mr. Wetherill admitted to me that he had taken the cattle but claimed to have bought them from the man's wife as stated above. In my opinion, this man Wetherill stole these cattle and should be prosecuted for it.

McNitt (118) gives a very different description of Shelton's visit, dating it within a year of the death of George's wife, and describing the debt as being for a quantity of goods traded to the deceased woman. A rather dramatic face-to-face encounter between George and Wetherill in Shelton's presence that he recounts is probably based on his interviews with Marietta Wetherill.

Wetherill's sudden collection of an alleged debt 3 years old suggests that he was badly in need of cash at this time. In spite of the "panic" and financial setback that Wetherill is reported to have suffered in 1907, not all traders were having difficulties. In June 1907, R. F. T. Simpson took delivery of a carload of wagons and buggies for sale at his trading post (119). In October, he received another, and was reported to be doing a "big business in this line with the Indians" (120). The Chaco Navajos were prosperous enough to be able to hold a Nightway near Pueblo Bonito beginning November 1 (121).

Perhaps Wetherill's major problem derived from his method of operating his businesses. Instead of protecting the Navajos in their claims to the range around Chaco Canyon, he had engaged in direct competition with his customers for the grass that formed their basis of livelihood, thereby reducing them to such a degree of poverty that they could not easily pay their debts. With the extension of the reservation, his ranching operation was also placed in jeopardy. His endeavors to retain control of rangeland aggravated his already-strained relations with the Indian Service officials. One ambiguous reference appears in an affidavit made later by George Keepers, who believed that Wetherill had "knowingly made a false affidavit" regarding an allotment made to Jack Edway (122). Edway was a Navajo boy allegedly raised by the Wetherills, and his allotment was made

in an area that Wetherill had fenced for pasture (123), but the details of the matter are far from clear.

Wetherill's response to the extension order was a letter to the commissioner himself (124):

The Presidents (sic) Order of November 9th last, Making this Territory into a Navajo Indian Reservation, Leaves our holdings on the inside We are located in the Chaco Canon about 18 miles east of the old Reservation line.

I have had charge of of (sic) a great deal of Live Stock and have t (sic) taken care of it solely with Navajo help.

Now in charge of the Navajos are Sheep, Goats, Cattle & Horse These are let to them on Shares under my supervision in this way

The Indian takes care of the Ewes or Nannies for one half of the Wool & Lambs. We furnish improved Rams & herd same at our own expense. We stand all losses, We pay for all dipping expenses for their Sheep as well as our own, We furnish sufficient Rams for the Indian Sheep,

We have dug Wells and made Reservoirs for the use of the Indian without any expense to them.

The Indian gets all the supplies that he wants and pays for the same out of his share of the increase.

The Cattle have always been in the charge of the Indian under pay only; but have furnished Registered Short Horn Bulls of which the Indians have had free use.

The Horses are only in the experimental stage as the Indian knows so little about the care of them.

We have purchased Pony Mares and bred them to fine Jacks, This Partn (sic) of the work being under the care of a white man. The Jacks are too Dangerous for a Careless Indian to handle.

We have leased 23000 acres of land from thr (sic) R.R. Co. and have fenced a portion of it, for the purpose of holding the Mares during the Breeding season

... We think with a little advice and help from your Department We can create a great industry for these

Indians and do well for ourselves at the same time. In the past we tried to raise Horses; but the hot sand ruined the Colts (sic) feet. The heat seems to make the Mulesvthrive (sic).

We should like to know what are the wishes of your Department as to what we shall do.

We can continue this Business and expand it under your direction or on the other hand we have sufficient land owned and leased on which to run this Stock, would prefer to run the Stock on the Share System with the Indians as then there is a rivalry for the best results for which we give a valuable prize

The Stock that we have out is principally taken care of by Indians who have none of their own except such as they have acquired from their share.

Have not taken up this matter with your Superintendents as they have troubles of their own.

This place is a National Monument on account of the Great Pre-Historic Ruins located here except such Sections as are owned by us, It is also in the Coal reserve. Also in the Limits of the R. R. Grant.

This document tells more about Wetherill's operations than he would have cared to have revealed, but raises a very unexpected question. The acreage under lease would be about one full township, or two townships of odd-numbered sections. If Wetherill were indeed in financial difficulties at this time, as most of the data suggest, he was probably receiving some sort of financial backing in the live-stock operation, which he represents as his main business. The wording of his letter consistently evades the issue of the ownership of the livestock that was out on shares, and the identities of other interested parties are vague. The most probable person to have invested in the enterprise is Sargent.

In any case, Harrison's major problem with Wetherill near the end of his tenure at Fort Defiance was caused by the ranching operation. Early in 1908 he found that (125):

. . . But one man who was included in the recent extension . . . runs any sheep . . . this being Mr. Richard Wetherell (sic) of Putnam, N. M. who owns some land and leases considerable more of the railroad company. Mr. Wetherell

(sic) is said to let his sheep on shares to Indians and allow them to range outside of his private and rented possessions

Opposition to the extension continued to such a degree that Harrison was asked to submit a report on this subject in the spring. In doing so, he provided some further data on the land use there as well (126):

... There is but one American or Mexican who ranges his flocks permanently on the territory ... Mr. Richard Wetherill of Putnam, New Mexico. On the territory lying east of the extended reservation live a number of Mexican sheep owners and I am informed by persons who are acquainted with the customs of these people in the past that they periodically drive their flocks on the eastern portion of the new extended reservation but nothing like a permanent grazing ground is made of this by them.

The objection that I have heard argued against the recent extension ... is mainly that it will prevent private individuals or corporations from securing valuable coal deposit and hence hinder the development of this section of the southwest and as the Santa Fe Railway company has considerable holding of real estate within this extension there are many who assert that some impure motive in favor of this corporation was at the foundation in extending the reservation and have made use of this argument inflaming and inciting less informed persons stating that in their judgement the railroad would relinquish these lands to the Indians and select lieu lands of better grade elsewhere.

He went on to recommend that two or three allotting crews be placed in the field so that the Navajos could be assured of their lands before public pressure became too strong (126).

His suggestion received quick action, and by March 13 he could announce the appointment of two allotting agents (127). He had begun efforts to license the traders who fell within the new boundaries, but only one had submitted his application. Even the "better class" of traders had been making only "slow but sure" progress in this direction when a letter written by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior was published in a local paper. This led them to believe that the extension was only temporary and that they did not need to become licensed. All interest in licensing among them ceased (128).

Harrison had also tried to learn directly from Wetherill the details of his stock-raising on the reservation. When he had not received a reply 6 weeks after his first inquiry, he wrote again asking for an answer at once (129). Wetherill's letter, written 10 days later, was vague, saying merely that he had "practically closed out" his ranching business and that he would write more later, or perhaps come over to see him personally. Harrison wrote back asking for the number of head he was grazing on reservation land, because he was required to collect a grazing fee for any such use (130). Wetherill sent a prompt reply, which the agent considered "a very fair statement," but declined to approve Wetherill's operations until he had also heard the Navajos' side of the matter. He asked that Wetherill come to Fort Defiance and bring with him all Indians who had stock from him on shares (131). It is not known whether Wetherill did so, but most likely he did not, and he probably had been somewhat misleading in his description of his system of placing stock on shares, for he had stock out with some 30 families (132)--far more people than Harrison might reasonably have expected Wetherill to bring with him to the agency.

By June, Wetherill seems to have felt that he had satisfied Harrison, although how he did so is not known. In any event, he had no qualms about asking that Harrison have a dipping-plant built at Pueblo Bonito. However, this could not be done, and Harrison instructed him to inform the Navajos that any who could not dip their sheep at Shelton's vats should bring them to the plants at Tohatchi or Tse-lo-kai. Harrison's letter had a very formal tone, suggestive of continued strained relations (133). The fact that George came in the same day to complain a second time about Wetherill's taking his cattle certainly did not help to ease dealings between the agency and the trader.

No record of later correspondence between Harrison and Wetherill has been found, but very soon Shelton became involved in the area, because he had been assigned jurisdiction over the Navajo community known as Waro's Camp and was ordered to visit and report upon it. Shelton's current definition of Waro's Camp was quite extensive, covering all the country for 60 to 75 miles south from Farmington and 50 to 60 miles east from the reservation boundary. He wrote that the Navajos' greatest difficulties were with wealthy sheep owners who brought in flocks each fall, and the only actual settler who caused trouble was Richard Wetherill. On his visit to the area he had traveled by way of Pueblo Bonito. He noted that the Navajos of the area lived in hogans, except in the summer, when they used temporary camps built of brush, and that only a very few had houses of stone or adobe. They relied primarily on livestock, because there was very little land suitable for planting, and even in the favored spots crops could not be depended upon.

He described many abuses attributed to Wetherill, writing that Wetherill had about 30 families herding stock for him on shares and that (135):

... When the time comes to divide the wool and the increase in the sheep, that Mr. Wetherill gets all, always claiming that they are indebted to him. If they remonstrate with him he curses them and threatens to send them to jail.

Wetherill was also fencing the Navajos off some of the range, in some cases enclosing allotments within his fences along with railroad lands that he claimed to have leased. The leasing of railroad land implies that he was using range to the south of the canyon at this time.

In addition to hearing about the dispute with George, Shelton heard reports of other clashes of a serious nature. One old man had been cursed and beaten when his sheep were herded too close to land to which Wetherill laid claim. The same man was again cursed and the fence around his cornfield removed after some of Wetherill's horses were cut on the wire while trying to get at his crops. Another man, identified only as Joe, had settled his account with Wetherill, probably for the sheep that he was herding on shares, and still owed more, as a result of which Wetherill with one of his hired men took possession of 52 head of the man's own sheep (135).

Another accusation was that Wetherill had stolen 20 burros and some horses from the Navajos and sold them to some whites. The Indians learned of the matter before the animals were driven from the country, and were able to make Wetherill return the stock, the white purchasers then making him buy other stock to deliver on the sale (136). It seems likely that this is the incident in which Elam Fouts of Lehigh, Utah, was involved, although nothing specific is known that could conclusively equate the two reports (137).

Shelton went on from Pueblo Bonito to Blanco Canyon, where Alfred Hardy was stationed as "additional farmer." Mrs. Hardy and a Miss McClaren were also stationed there as field matrons, but the two were so jealous that they would not speak to each other. There was also a missionary operating nearby--perhaps the first serious mission activity near Chaco Canyon. Shelton considered Hardy to be too old and easygoing to be really effective in such as isolated post, and the two field matrons to be completely worthless, and he could discern neither good nor harm as a result of the missionary, writing that the Indians had been able to hold their own with him thus far.

He recommended that a separate superintendency be instituted in the area, and a special investigation be made of Wetherill's activities (138). In a later letter, he discussed Hardy's bumbling efforts to handle law enforcement in two recent cases--one in which a Navajo, Julian, was accused of horse stealing by a settler named Fred L. Moss--and the other case of assault by a Peter Garsh upon Hosteen Tso and his son (139).

Hardy did uncover evidence that Wetherill was running far more sheep than he paid taxes upon. The county treasurer had him recorded as owning 3,000 head, but he claimed 8,000 to 9,000 when asserting his need for range within the reservation (140).

The investigation recommended by Shelton was made by A. G. Pollock. He failed to obtain proof of most of the abuses of which Wetherill was accused, but did report illegal fencing of the range. Wetherill had fenced a tract about 3 to 4 miles long and 1-1/4 to 1-1/2 miles wide on the mesa behind his house, and was thereby excluding several Navajos from their allotments. Moss, who was trading at Ojo Alamo, had also fenced public lands in partnership with a man named McKenzie (141).

The public opposition to the extension of the reservation had become so intense that just before the year ended, 26 townships east of range 10 west were restored to the public domain (142). Three other townships that were found to be a part of the Jicarilla Apache reservation had been previously removed from the extension (143).

Shelton's disputes with Wetherill gained an added dimension as the allotting progressed. In Shelton's opinion, improvements on allotted land were the property of the allottees, and he tried to protect the Indians' rights to these improvements. One such structure was the trading post at Kimbeto. The last trader to do business in the store was a man named Hensley, who left about the end of 1908 or beginning of 1909. Mrs. Fred Palmer, an aunt of Marietta Wetherill, had come with two Spanish-American helpers and transported Hensley's personal property for him when he left. Richard Wetherill then laid claim to the building, claiming to have purchased it from Bill Finn, his cowboy, and W. B. Phillips, his blacksmith, who had together received it in payment for the hauling of Hensley's effects. In January, Hardy passed by the site and found that the doors, windows, and shelving had been removed. Joe, a Navajo living nearby, informed him that Finn and Phillips had removed these materials one night. He then went to Pueblo Bonito, where he found the doors and windows stored in one of Wetherill's buildings, but Wetherill denied any knowledge of their removal (144).

William M. Peterson was making allotments in the Chaco area, working out of Putnam (145a)(145b). In May, he surveyed the allotments of two of the better-known men of the vicinity. George made an affidavit regarding his occupancy of his allotment on May 5 (146):

... I do not know how old I am, but I was quite a man when the Navajos went to Fort Sumner.

The place where the spring is has always been mine. I built a log house there and some Mexicans tore it down and carried it away. I have built three hogans at the spring and they have been torn down or burned down. I have just built another hogan there.

I came to this spring when the Navajos came back from Fort Sumner, and my home has been there ever since.

Supporting testimony was given by Hosteen Tsosee (Hastiin Ts'osi, "Slim Man"), Hosteen Yountl nezzie (Hastiin Ayo'neezzi, "Tall Man"), and Betacio Baca (147). His allotment was of the southwest quarter of section 26, T21N, R10W, inside the national monument (148). The allotment was subsequently cancelled (149), probably because of its location, and there is no indication that George was re-allotted in any other location. This suggests that George--then an old man--died before he could make a lieu selection. However, the date of the cancellation is not known, nor is the date of George's death.

Welo and his family also received allotments within the national monument. He also swore to an affidavit affirming his use of the land received over a long period of time. His name was written by Peterson as Walo. Other names by which he was known were Hosteen Tah-v'kin (Hastiin Taabikin, "House by the Water Man") and Denthl tsse (probably Dine A'ts'isi, "Small Navajo"). His wife, Hostan-l-tsoi (probably Asdzaa Witsoi, "Yellow Woman"), a daughter, Baah Yazhie, and a granddaughter, Wato, received allotments in one block at a place where Welo claimed to have lived for 29 years. Hastiin Beyal and Tomas Padilla made affidavits supporting his statements (150). These four allotments took up all of section 4, T21N, R11W. Another daughter and three more grandchildren received allotments just to the northwest of these, outside the monument (151). Of the allotments within the monument, all were later cancelled except for Welo's (152). The reason for failure to cancel this one allotment is not known, although it may have been because of his long-standing claim to the land.

Peterson, with his interpreter, George Greeley, spent most of 1909 making allotments in the Chaco region (153). The Government was moving quickly to establish its jurisdiction in the Eastern Navajo country. Samuel F. Stacher was given charge of the Eastern Navajos on April 1, 1909 (154). By April 12, Stacher had arrived as superintendent for the not-yet-existing Pueblo Bonito school and agent for the Eastern Navajo jurisdiction, and on April 12 he wrote from Putnam to ask authorization for some positions: one clerk, two stockmen, one laborer, and four policemen. His justification for the stockman positions shows conditions very similar to those described by earlier observers (155):

From what I have been able to learn, these Indians have to a great extent been victimized by unscrupulous Mexican and White stockmen, who for years have been trying to push the Indians back and get control of the range

The needed positions were approved early in May (156).

It is not stated from whom Stacher was obtaining his information, but it was probably received from Navajos and allotting agents rather than from the Wetherills, who were not as concerned about the Navajos' land rights as they were with extending their own. In May, Marietta Wetherill received the patent to section 13, T21N, R11W--a railroad section immediately south of their homestead (157).

Prior to Stacher's arrival, Wetherill had tried to drive out another white stockman. Peter Garsh was running cattle in the vicinity of Myers Canyon, present-day Ah-shi-sle-pah wash, a few miles north of Chaco Canyon. His cattle grazed on the Navajos' allotments, and he watered them at a small lake where he had done some work to help retain more water. Hastiin Tsoh lived in the vicinity with his wife and seven children, the family having received allotments along a small tributary that entered Myers Canyon from the north. The Navajo family also claimed the right to water at the reservoir. It would appear that Wetherill, wanting to take over the range in that area himself, placed a large number of sheep on shares with Tsoh, leading to a clash with Garsh over rights to stock water. Garsh drew a knife on the Navajo, who in defending himself was cut on the hand. His son--probably Ush-Katl-hat-dahl, a youth of 19 in 1909--came to his father's assistance, and was also wounded. Exactly when the encounter took place is not known, but Garsh had been indicted for assault at the time Stacher took over his new assignment (158a-158c).

At first, Stacher was too busy organizing his operations to do much about the land problems. He established his headquarters in Wetherill's "hotel," renting it at \$18 per month

for use as office and wareroom (159). He had to request authority from Washington merely to purchase supplies for dipping the Indian sheep, and to buy a wagon and team for transportation--and then had to wait until the officials at headquarters checked with Shelton as to whether these requests were reasonable before receiving approval (160). Even his need for filing cabinets was questioned--a request he justified by noting the allotment records that he would have to keep (161). His initial plan was to build the proposed school "somewhere along the Chaco Canon" (162). One sheep-dip built by the Fort Defiance agency now came under his supervision (163)--undoubtedly the one at Togay Spring. One of his first brief descriptions of his new jurisdiction noted that it had no mission schools, and had 10 or 12 trading posts, about 50 white residents, and about 3,000 Navajo residents (164).

However, the questions of land use and its complications soon caused Stacher problems. One of his first questions regarding the allotting program was whether children born since the completion of the allotments in an area should also receive land (165). Many Navajos did not brand their stock, and few of those who did had legally registered their brands. White ranchers, using this as a pretext, were confiscating the Navajos' animals, and Stacher was unsure of his own legal authority in such cases (166). Not all land disputes were between whites and Indians. A man named Navajo Charley planted on the allotment assigned to Hos-teen-nez-be-ga (Hastiin Neez Biye', "Son of Tall Man"), and refused to give up his crop (167)(168).

Requests for information sent from the Washington office gave Stacher an opportunity to explore and learn more about his area. Investigation of the feasibility of a day-school at Blanco Canyon gave him a better understanding of the dynamics of Navajo land use and settlement (169):

... In a trip down the canon and at a meeting of 26 of the head men, I found the Indians living at different places along the Canon for a distance of 24 miles and 20 miles above the additional Farmer's quarters, nearly all living on their allotments and at no point would there be more than 5 or 6 families that would have access to a day school, if established. It is impossible for these Indians to live at any one place the entire year, or within the limits of an established day school for the reason that all families own flocks of sheep, goats, horses and some cattle. The grazing is always scant and but little water except what is developed along the Blanco, the result is the range

is eaten very closely up and down the canon for several miles back on either side, so scarcity (sic) of feed will not allow them to congregate (sic) more closely. The Indians make use of the few opportunities to move their herds back into ungrazed territory when there is snow, and from storage of water in the few small reservoirs they have constructed, even this source is for 2 to 4 months during the winter only.

As the Indians in removing to ungrazed territory scatter in various directions and the families living together in any neighborhood will not be near neighbors in moving to other stock range, so a tent with school facilities, I am sure could not be attended with any marked degree of success

Stacher's travels led him to conclude before the end of July that the site of present-day Crownpoint would be the best location for his school and agency (170).

By this time, he--as various agents before him--had become aware of the serious conflicts of interest in Wetherill's operations. His first report on the subject was probably that of July 21 (171):

The Indians living on the Navajo Extension are being harrassed by stock theives (sic), and have been losing one to twenty head at a time. Two weeks ago a man named Moss (and) Richard Wetherill, or his hired man, ran off 10 head of horses (bel)onging to a Navajo named George

As some Indians saw Moss with these horses, it was reported to me. I dispatched a police and another Indian, Paul Delgadito, to Largo, where Moss is now located, and found these horses in his possession. He gave them up but refused to come to this agency to explain, or even to write a note of explanation, as requested. I earnestly and respectfully recommend that your office send a shrewd man here with instructions to get the various cases against these men into the courts

I would ask that in this connection your Office instruct Special Allotting Agent Kent to make surveys of the government land which these men have under fence, that the actual area inclosed may be known and introduced as evidence

Considering the many duties to receive attention in the building of the new Agency and School, it is impossible for me to attend to these cases. The manner in which these men have run things, particularly Wetherill, has been no secret; and I regard him as a most dangerous man to the welfare of the Indians and think he should be gotten off the Reservation at all cost.

Moss' case had unusual complications. He had filed a homestead application on the quarter-section on which the Ojo Alamo trading post stood, and then sold his rights to a man named Thurston. The same quarter-section had been allotted to a Navajo named Bidonna (probably Baadaane, "Son-in-Law," which would be an incomplete transcription of the man's name) (172).

Stacher asked that his Government stockmen be given deputy United States marshal commissions to help them deal with stock thieves (173). For increased control of his vast domain, he also wanted authority to divide the extension into three districts, placing one stockman in each district, along with a policeman and an interpreter. These stockmen should be provided with a light wagon and a team so they could travel frequently and carry provisions and water. He also believed that all Navajos should be required to use the same brand, which would be registered with the state, in addition to any private brands they might want to use (174). He tried to encourage the wealthier Navajos to lease the railroad sections. His initial success was slight. Late in July, both George and Delgadito had agreed to lease (175). However, the year was very dry, and by mid-August both men had lost over 7,000 sheep, not counting lambs, and felt that they could not afford the cost. Betahne-tso-see (Bit'ahnii Ts'osi, "Slim Man of the Bit'ahnii Clan") was reported to be in similarly poor financial circumstances (176). The drought of spring and early summer was serious enough to preclude planting of about half of the plots normally cultivated by the Navajos (177).

The problem at Ojo Alamo dragged on as well (178). With no clear guidelines from his superiors, Stacher seems to have found his aims difficult to attain. He drafted a letter to the commissioner in an effort to obtain instructions on the handling of specific problems with whites on the reservation (179):

First: I wish advise as to whether these stockmen have any existing right to free use of the range adjoining their homesteads.

Second: If a party leases Railroad land, which is alternate odd numbered section, is he entitled to free use of the Government land on the Extension?

Third: If the Extension is as much a Reservation as other Indian territory not open to settlement, have we the right to collect grazing fees?

Fourth: Has any trader on a homestaed (sic) the right to buy stock from the Indians hereon without permission from the Superintendent?

Further complications involving the overlapping of the national monument with allotments were discovered in the Pueblo Pintado area, where De-neth-tso (probably Dine Tsoh, "Big Navajo," or Dine Yitso, "Yellow Navajo") and his son, Ush-ke-yazzie (probably Ashkii Yazhi, "Little Boy") had to make lieu selections, because it turned out that the family hogans and corrals were not in the original allotments anyhow, but rather in section 15 south of the monument lands (180).

The conflicting claims to the Ojo Alamo store became an increasingly complicated problem. Pollock had reported earlier that Moss had filed a homestead on the tract, but Stacher was unable to obtain confirmation that this was so, when Joe Hatch appeared, saying he had bought out Moss' interest. Hatch in turn sold the store to O. S. Thurston. While Stacher did not believe Thurston to be a particularly reliable person, he felt that if he were to open a trading post, it would be best if it were on Bidonna's allotment, where his activities could be more effectively regulated (181)(182). Stacher wrote repeatedly to the land office in Santa Fe in an effort to ascertain the status of the alleged homestead (183a)(183b). In the meantime, Hatch and a partner, probably Thurston, opened a business at Ojo Alamo without a permit, and the superintendent ordered them to get out (184).

At this point it would appear that Richard Wetherill made a claim to the store on the basis of its construction by the old Hyde Exploring Expedition, intending to salvage whatever was of any value in the buildings (185a). However, Stacher implied that Wetherill's claim to the structures on the allotment had a different origin. He found that Moss did indeed have a homestead claim on file, but that it lay in a different range. He expected Moss to claim this discrepancy to be due to a clerical error. If the land description should be corrected, and the commissioner approve, he was ready to allow Thurston to use the buildings if he would pay Bidonna a rent of \$3 per month. However, before these arrangements could be worked out, Thurston was indicted on a charge of burglary, tried unsuccessfully to escape on a stolen horse, and was subsequently lodged in the county jail at Aztec (185b). Moss had also been indicted, presumably for stealing horses from Navajo George (186). Stacher

wanted instructions from Washington concerning his proper course in protecting any interest Bidonna might have in the buildings if Thurston should dispose of his claim to an unnamed third party (187). Headquarters supported Stacher, and on November 15 he issued the following warning (188):

According to instructions of the United States Ind(ian) Office, all persons or alleged purchasers are hereby noti(fied) to not damage or remove any of the buildings or other improvements known as the Ojo Alamo Trading Post which is situated on the NW/4, Sec. 8, T.24N. R.11W. which is the allotment of a Navajo Indian Named Bidonna.

Any party or parties who may destroy or attempt to remove these improvements will be dealt with according (to) law.

Perhaps encouraged by increasing support from Washington, and finding more time for the various problems of the Navajos as he gained a better knowledge of the country and people and had his agency organized, Stacher undertook to solve an ever-increasing number of cases that came to his attention. In September he tried to adjust a repossession of a wagon by D. S. Miera of Cuba from a Navajo named Louis Chavez, who believed that he had not been treated fairly in the deal (189). No record has been found to show whether an adjustment was made.

About the end of October or beginning of November, Stacher tried to enroll Gleanesbah, a daughter of Joe Hostine Yazzie, in school. The girl was working as a servant in the Wetherill household (190).

John Black, a well-liked Navajo, had had a horse confiscated by the State of New Mexico because it did not have a recorded brand. Not understanding why it had been corralled, and attempting to reclaim it, Black was arrested on a charge of rustling. His friends contributed toward the costs of his defense, but were unable to get him proper representation, and he lost his case. Stacher wanted authorization to hire competent legal counsel for an appeal (191). Black was eventually cleared. In another case, a young Navajo man had been stealing horses from his blind father. Stacher apparently helped the prosecution of this case, and reported that the thief received a 2-year sentence (192).

Stacher had issued a warning in August that non-Navajos should not trespass on allotments without the allottees' permission (193). In September he renewed his request that his stockmen receive

commissions as marshals, noting that the nearest law-enforcement officers were located in Aztec, Gallup, and Albuquerque--so far away that "thieves generally go unmolested, even though caught in the act." In addition, trespass on Indian range by white stockmen was a continuing problem, and the Government stockmen had no power to stop it (194). Toward the end of October, he did receive permission to station one of his stockmen, T. N. Jones, at Blanco, and to build him quarters there. His request for funds to hire legal assistance for the Navajos had been denied (195).

Reports required toward the end of the year provide a fair insight into the conditions existing in the area of Stacher's jurisdiction during his first few months at his new post. Peterson, Kent, and Keepers had been making allotments, and early in September Stacher could report that he had received allotment papers for 1,005 Navajos, while another 1,556 Navajos had been allotted for whom he had not yet received the files (196). However, a number of these allotments had been made on railroad lands. Most of the odd-numbered sections extending 50 miles from the tracks belonged to the Santa Fe railway, although some were held by the St. Louis and San Francisco railroad company (197).

The Indian Service wanted to encourage agriculture among Indians generally; early on, Stacher was asked to report on the agricultural potential of his jurisdiction. He found that farming was of little importance to the people under his agency, with only about 200 acres planted in the entire extension, with crops of corn, squash, and melons (198). He later learned that several people from his area had gone to a place called "the Corn Fields," some 50 miles westerly from Pueblo Bonito, where they raised considerable corn (199). But most of the Eastern Navajos relied heavily on livestock. The need for stock water was most acute in the spring and early summer. By winter, the natural lakes and reservoirs had water. The need for grass and water forced them to move frequently, and most lived in "temporary hogans constructed of cedar and pinon poles and brush, or of rough stone and adobe." Stacher believed that major need was development of water sources, especially in areas where great distances to water made utilization of the range difficult. He did not think the prospects for raising poultry very great, but was willing to experiment (200). In a later report, he noted that the "corn fields" were within Shelton's jurisdiction, some near the base of the mountains, and others along the lower Chaco. He described the potential for development of a small irrigation project at "Kimeola" (Kinbiniyola), warning that steps should be taken to secure the reservoir site at once, because "other parties" had already surveyed it and would probably file on it as soon as the extension was rescinded. He strongly opposed any elimination of reservation status for his area, despite the allotting program,

noting that the railroad lands gave white stockmen the opportunity to control large areas through leasing from the railway companies. He believed that the greatest needs of his charges were the protection of reservation status for their lands and assistance in developing water sources (201).

A circular sent out in August requesting data on economic and living conditions among the Indians of the various agencies produced some informative replies. Although neither Paquette nor Shelton had formal jurisdiction over the Eastern Navajos, their more general comments seem to be as applicable to that area as are Stacher's, and their comments provide detail that augments that from Pueblo Bonito. Paquette's description indicates that the conical forked-pole hogan was still the major type of dwelling in his region. Houses were not common, and he estimated that only about 200 were in use. Wooden floors were seldom made, even in the houses. Chee Dodge had a well-furnished house, but it was too far beyond the means of most Navajos to serve as a model (202). Shelton estimated that about 10 per cent of the people in the San Juan region lived in houses, and the rest in hogans. Hogan styles are not described beyond the statement that they were made of "logs, brush and mud." In the higher elevations houses were made of logs; in lower, of stone and adobe. Most consisted of two rooms, had dirt floors, three or four small windows, and one or two doors. Houses were supplied with fireplaces or stoves, but the cooking and heating arrangements in hogans were not recorded (203).

Stacher's report is of special interest because it was devoted strictly to the Eastern Navajos, and was probably most influenced by conditions at Chaco Canyon, where he had initially established his headquarters. After noting that few Navajos in his region spoke English, and that only the men wore "citizens" clothes, he described their economic circumstances (204):

They are a very industrious and thrifty people. They own and tend large herds of sheep and many horses and cattle. They raise corn, squashes and melons in small patches wherever it is possible to secure water for irrigation or the season is wet enough to supply subirrigation. Besides, these Indians do much freighting for white traders and others and work on irrigation ditches or at any thing else that they can secure, often going 50 to 100 miles from home to get work.

With regard to housing, he wrote (204):

None of these Indians live in tepees, few in tents, except in summer when out on the range with their

sheep, a few of them have rough stone houses, a very few others have crude adobe houses, but the great majority live in what they term "hogans", which are in the shape of tepees, or wigwams, and are made by means of a frame-work of rough cedar or pinon poles, covered with adobe and sand, a large opening being left in the center at the top. As a rule there is plenty of ventilation. They rarely ever have any floor, other than earth, and but few windows where they have houses.

....

With reference to the construction of their houses ... lumber and other building material, other than stone, have to be freighted for long distances - in many cases 75 to 100 miles - over the worst sort of roads, and that there are often months at a time when it is almost impossible to freight at all because of the impossibility of securing water and feed for their teams. Besides their teams consist almost entirely of small ponies, making it necessary to use four, and even six, in hauling even small loads.

A questionnaire about dancing also elicited considerable information of interest. Insofar as Navajo Religion is concerned, the observations of the Government officials add nothing to what is reported in the ethnographic literature, but significant data regarding the socioeconomic aspect of Navajo ceremonialism does appear. The dances were always orderly affairs, with no drinking except at those held close to the railroad. The only aspects of these events that the agents considered detrimental were: they enhanced the reputations of the medicine men; certain performances were considered immoral; and some younger people neglected their farming to attend. He did note, however, that most were held after the agricultural work for the year had been finished, and families always made provisions to have their stock cared for when they went to a ceremony. Shelton even admitted to the medicinal value of dances, stating that until there were enough competent white doctors to meet the Navajos' needs, they would require the services of their own medicine men. All three agents seemed to think that gambling was as rare as drinking among the Navajos (205a-205c). In their opinion about gambling they were probably as inaccurate as they were in their descriptions of Navajo ceremonies, for the agents were men who could not conceive of gambling done in an orderly manner. An absence of fights due to gambling disputes to them meant an absence of gambling.

White opposition to Navajo land use in the extension continued. In replying to a petition concerning the matter, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reaffirmed the Government's intention to restore most of the land to the public domain once the allotments had been made (206).

Stacher realized that he had to get along with the white stockmen who had established some sort of rights within his reservation. He seems to have hoped that by recognizing their rights, he could get them to respect the Navajos' rights. When T. P. Talle, the sheriff of McKinley County, leased 11,520 acres of railroad land, Stacher issued him a permit to cross Indian lands, with the provisions that he not camp on any allotments and not water his cattle at the Navajos' reservoirs, except at large natural lakes. Stacher referred the question about Talle's rights to grass on the even-numbered sections of the extension to Washington (207a)(207b). Refusal of the Government to allow the employment of an attorney to help protect the Navajos' interests brought a quick response from Stacher, who suggested a special act of Congress to allow the position, for he feared that there would be much greater trouble than ever once the extension was terminated (208).

Of special interest relevant to claims that Wetherill did much to improve weaving among the Eastern Navajos is Stacher's reply to an inquiry from the Washington office on the use of vegetal dyes for wool (209):

I believe that it would not be advisable to encourage all the Indians who weave blankets to use the vegetable or native dye for this reason: The blanket makers of the Pueblo Bonito Reservation, as a rule are very poor weavers, so if the native dyes were to be used, material, workmanship and designs should be improved

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Chapter 6

THE END OF THE WETHERILL ERA: 1910-1912

Stacher found the demands on his time to protect Navajo interests increasing rapidly in 1910. With the approach of winter, the herds of sheep from outside had begun to arrive. Writing Howell Jones, the land commissioner for the Santa Fe railway, he noted early in January that there were thousands of sheep in trespass on both the railroad and reservation lands. He hoped to work in cooperation with Jones to have the railroad lands leased by the Navajos or by men whom he could trust to respect their rights. It had been decreed by Washington that anyone who leased railroad land would also have to lease the Government land in the sections between the railroad sections in order to use it legally (1). One of the few white stockmen that Stacher felt would deal honorably with the Navajos was a Mr. McGillivray, whom he recommended to Jones for approval of a lease. Stacher had his men busy trying to evict trespassing herds. Early in the month 5,000 sheep were moved out of the Little Water area (2). He wrote other ranchers to meet him at McGillivray's place (3a) (3b), but apparently they failed to do so, for the only man to get his support for a railway lease was Duncan McGillivray (4).

However, Stacher's most immediate concern was not the local ranchers, but rather the influx of herds from elsewhere in search of winter range. His description of his activities as the sheepmen moved in suggests that he was unprepared for the situation, and had not really known what to expect (5).

There has been during the past three weeks not less than 100,000 head of trespass sheep trespassing upon this Reservation. These sheep are owned by Mexicans and Americans who live in other counties. The Police and the stockmen employed at this agency and myself have been in the field removing them as fast as we come to them, giving them warning not to return under penalty of prosecution We have had to use force to get some of the Mexicans started off. January 11 stockmen T. H. Jones, James Bryant and myself encountered 13 flocks of sheep to the East

and North of this agency numbering more than 20,000 head, all within an area of less than ten miles from Putnam. So much audacity is seldom seen. There seems to be an organized gang of politicians and stockowners, of more or less influence, trying to overrun this reservation with their sheep, and they use the ignorant Mexican as a means to this end. It is perhaps remembered by your Office that some of these same rich sheep owners from Tierra Amarilla, Chama, New Mex., did everything in their power to get the work of Allotments to the Navajo Indians annulled, particularly those on the Public Domain off the Extension.

I have given out many notices and had others posted at various trading posts, so that no owner can plead ignorance as an excuse for coming upon the reserve.

I understand that last year T. D. Burns received permission from your Office to cross Indian Allotments with 20,000 or more head of sheep A sheep owner by the name of V. S. Thompson from Chama ... informs me that a recent meeting of sheepmen at that place money was donated for sending T. D. Burns ... to Washington to try to knock out the Extension to the Jicarilla Apache Reservation and to endeavor to get permission to trail sheep across this reservation. We have stopped all sheep from crossing this reservation wherever we have been aware of parties trying to cross. Should your Office grant such permits to owners of large flocks ... the grazing situation for the Indians will be jeopardized. They will no doubt advance many excuses to get permission from your Office but they should be disregarded

These Tierra Amarilla and Chama sheep owners who pretend to desire permits to cross the reservation merely wish to obtain the permits in order that they may use them as excuses for grazing out the country, which they do completely wherever they go with their sheep, and any permit granted them should comptplate (sic) the entire destruction of the range through which they pass.

Herds belonging to Spanish-American owners who lived in Albuquerque and San Rafael were trespassing on the southern part of the reservation, and the herders were very insistent on staying when contacted by Stockman Charles C. Pinkney and Policeman John Lung. Once Stacher had moved the herds on the Escavada off

the reservation, he brought Stockman Bryant, Policeman Hosteen Nezbege, and Clerk B. P. Six south, and with these reinforcements had somewhat better luck, but could not remove all the herds. Finally he placed the matter in the hands of the Federal attorney in Albuquerque (6).

In spite of these distractions, the allotting program went ahead. By early February, Stacher could report that there were over 2,500 allottees (7). Stacher tried to ensure that only a limited number of white leasees would be allowed within the reservation and these were owners of small herds who would not interfere with Navajo land use (8). He was also successful in persuading both George and Delgadito to lease railroad lands. George leased all the railroad sections in T19N, R9W, while Delgadito took the south half of T21N, R8W, and the north half of T20N, R8W (9a-9c).

The problems of the Navajos who lived even beyond the limits of the extended reservation claimed some of Stacher's attention. In December 1909, a Navajo named Knockeye Yazzie (Nakai Yazhi, "Little Mexican") was murdered at a place about 20 miles up Gobernador Canyon. He had apparently received his name from having spent a portion of his childhood among Spanish-Americans, possibly having been taken captive during the days of warfare. His own family lived near Gallup, and he had later settled with them and become an influential singer. However, his curing activities had gotten him into trouble, undoubtedly leading to accusations of witchcraft, for around 1884, his life had been threatened, and he moved to Gobernador Canyon, where he lived as a hermit for a quarter of a century. Toward the end of 1909 his brother, Ho-tat-la-nez-be-ta (Hataalii Neez Bida', "Tall Singer's Nephew"), visited him and convinced him that he could safely return to his own home. He said he would as soon as he could sell a part of his herd and collect some outstanding debts. By the time his brother returned, he had been killed. Two Spanish-Americans were arrested, and a third released under bond as a witness at Rosa. Antonio Vallejos of Blanco, whose grandfather had raised Nakai Yazhi, took an interest in obtaining justice in the case, and Stacher sent Jones, one of his stockmen, to investigate and to try to ensure that the murdered man's property was given to his heirs (10).

Other Navajos living beyond the reservation--Jose Sandoval and his family--had received allotments. Stacher first describes them as "near San Luis, above Cabezon," but they were actually about 5 miles west of Torreon in McKinley County. Sandoval tried to prevent some Spanish-American herders from grazing their sheep on the allotments. When one of the herders threatened to shoot him, he managed to disarm the man with the help of a friend. The Navajos brought the gun to Stacher, who kept it for return to the

owner. However, the herders, upon their returning to San Luis, swore out a warrant for Sandoval's arrest for stealing the rifle and two sheep. Sandoval and his friend were arrested and taken to the Sandoval County jail in Bernalillo. Stacher's protests secured their release, and it is probable that when he was able to determine that the affair took place outside the jurisdiction of the Sandoval County authorities, the case was dropped (11a-11c).

It was discovered toward the end of winter that the allotments of George and certain others, probably members of his family, were on the national monument, and the allotments were rescinded (12).

The large stockmen of the Chama Valley continued their political opposition to the reservation extension. Burns wrote delegate Andrews that they should be permitted to run their sheep on the reservation at no cost, claiming that any grazing fee would put them out of business. Stacher was quick to object, writing that he believed that the white sheepmen should be charged even more on the reservation than the 5¢ per head that they paid for summer range on the national forest (14).

... A small charge for grazing priveleges (sic) in force on this Reservation next winter will mean that more than 100,000 head of sheep belonging to outside parties will get the use of the range that properly belongs to the Indians. Why should a few owners of large herds ... be given preference to the detriment of 500 self-supporting Navajo Indians whose only source of support is the small herds of sheep and goats that struggle along for existance (sic) on this desert?

He also urged that the reservation not be restored to the public domain, explaining that the allotted lands alone were not adequate to support the resident Navajos, who needed the range on the lands surrounding their allotments if they were to survive, for the country had no agricultural potential beyond a few small plots along the washes. He also noted that the territorial laws regarding branding and fencing would be enforced in such a manner as to place the Indians at a disadvantage if the Executive order were rescinded (14). Stacher's efforts had little effect on the political pressures developing among the whites. In March, the Washington office asked that Stacher's trespass cases against Spanish-American stockmen be discontinued (15).

The continuing problem of Richard Wetherill and his activities became a major concern during the early part of 1910. In January, Stacher recommended Wetherill as census enumerator for the Navajos in New Mexico (16). Apparently he was still unsure

in regard to his suspicions of Wetherill, and was endeavoring to find some way to work effectively with him. However, as soon as Shelton learned that Wetherill was being considered for the position, he raised such strong objections that other candidates were considered in his place (17a) (17b).

Investigations by Shelton and Stacher were revealing an increasing number of matters of questionable legality, in which the Wetherills' employees were involved, and in which it seemed likely that Wetherill himself might be implicated. Early in February, Shelton was holding two bands of sheep that he had confiscated from Indians employed by Wetherill to buy sheep illegally on the portion of the reservation under Shelton's jurisdiction (18). Not long after this, Wetherill himself, with two Spanish-American helpers, came onto Shelton's reservation to take some sheep from a Navajo named Nelson White at Todequosia (probably Todik'ozh, "Sour Water"), about 12 miles beyond Tiznatzin, claiming he had a permit from Stacher to do so. About the same time, Shelton heard a report that Will Finn and Pablo Wiggins had been on his reservation before Christmas, and had threatened to shoot somebody (19). Stacher tried to investigate these matters for Shelton, denying that he had ever given any permits for anyone to buy stock outside of his own jurisdiction. He did confirm that Wetherill, accompanied by Pablo Wiggins and another Spanish-American, had secured some sheep on Shelton's reservation about the time that he was reported at "Todequosia." Stacher's interpreter, Harry McDonald, also reported that during the summer Wetherill had been buying sheep on Shelton's reservation, paying about \$2 a head in beads, Mexican pesos, and United States currency, and had taken away some 1,000 sheep. Who had accompanied him in this endeavor was not known (20).

About this time, in February or March, Wetherill sold his trading business to an unnamed Spanish-American (21) (22). The sale was reportedly prompted by the difficulties he had collecting debts because of Shelton (23) or Stacher (24). This unnamed man was probably one of the Mieras of Cuba, for it was a Miera who operated the post after Wetherill's death (25).

It was late in February--perhaps about the time that the trading post changed hands--when Stacher reported on liquor trade at Pueblo Bonito. The two events do not seem to be related, for Stacher wrote that the trade had been going on since his arrival, but that this was the first opportunity he had had to get evidence that he thought sufficient for prosecution in court. His interpreter, Harry McDonald, had overheard Pablo Wiggins tell Jessie, a Navajo woman, that she could get whiskey at his house. Stacher, with his clerk, B. P. Six, and Wellito Ahsossee, agency policeman, caught Jessie as she was leaving the Wiggins house. She admitted to buying whiskey there, and on

their return showed just where it was kept. Pablo's mother, Reyes Wiggins, was the one who sold the liquor. Stacher believed that Wetherill was also involved in the bootlegging, but was unable to find evidence to support his belief (26) (27). Another Wetherill employee, Santiago Gómez, came to Stacher's attention when he got into a fight with some Navajos while on his way from Cuba to Putnam, during which one of the Navajos was injured. Investigation revealed that Gómez was bringing several bottles of whiskey to Chaco Canyon at the time (28).

Stacher continued his investigation of Wetherill's methods of business, although he had moved from Chaco Canyon to Crownpoint about March 7. He learned that Wetherill's other assistant in the act of taking the sheep from Nelson White had been Manuel Butiérrez. About the same time, Finn and Wiggins had been in Shelton's area, rounding up horses said to belong to Wetherill. It was also learned that Moss, in his defense against the charge of horse stealing, claimed to have bought the stolen horses from Wetherill (29) (30).

In March, Stacher learned that he could not get his case against Wiggins before the grand jury at Santa Fe, and proposed trying it in Gallup or Farmington (31). Wiggins seemed to feel more confident, and demanded the return of the jug and bottle seized as evidence (32)--but he took some precautions. Stacher had failed to find a partially emptied whiskey keg when he searched Wiggins' house. Wiggins moved it to another building, where, if found, it could not be connected with him. It was not Stacher who found the keg, however, but a Navajo by the name of Indian Pablo. He took it to Joe Hosteen Yazzie's home-site about 3 miles north of Pueblo Bonito. Pablo, Yazzie, Jessie, and Tomacito consumed the drink, and this led to a "drunken row," which came to Stacher's attention. Stacher reported on the circumstances, as told him by McDonald, but did not make a detailed investigation. He hoped that as a result of the affair he might finally secure evidence that would establish Wetherill's involvement in the liquor trade, and asked that a special investigator be sent. He feared that if Wetherill knew of his interest in the matter he would somehow prevent the Indians from testifying (33).

In spite of his strong suspicions, Stacher maintained polite relations with Wetherill while arranging the storage and transport of his household effects, and trying to find a job for Glea Nespah (probably Dliinesbaa' or some similar form), a Navajo girl who had been working for the Wetherills--perhaps the same girl he had earlier tried to enter in school (34).

Stacher's primary concern was to attempt to retain the use of as much land as possible for the Navajos. He observed that almost all Navajos in the eastern area were more-or-less

successful stock-raisers. They owned over 100,000 head of sheep and goats; and about 20 percent of them also had cattle, some of the more prosperous possessing 100 or more head. All had horses, but most of the horses were of relatively poor breed, and he hoped to help them improve them by selective breeding (35). Many of the Navajos were also engaged in wage-work. Most of these jobs were as workers on the railroad, in lumber camps and coal mines, on irrigation projects along the San Juan, and as freighters for the traders. However, Stacher was of the opinion that they would do better staying at home attending to their stock, unless they could get long-term contracts and good wages (36). This view was probably fostered by the generally low wages paid Indian laborers and the need for the Navajos to remain on their ranches if they were to hope to hold their own against the white stockmen. Some of the older Navajo stock-raisers were past their prime, and unless the younger men could do their part, the Navajos' prospects would not be very promising. Stacher noted that most of the returned students had only 3 years of education, and that none had yet had any marked degree of success at stock-raising or in any other field (37).

A Department of Interior inspector, Will M. Tipton, investigated Navajo George's losses of livestock, and found that there was little he could do to help him. In the case of 39 donkeys that Wetherill had sold to Elam Fouts, Wetherill had finally paid George in order to avoid prosecution. Wetherill's methods of bookkeeping were such that there was little hope of bringing about any settlement for the seven cattle that had been taken from George to pay his late wife's alleged debt. His loss of some 300 to 500 sheep was beyond solution. Stacher was handling the case of the horses found in Moss' possession. The major problem was that George was no longer able to handle his affairs as he had in the past. According to Tipton (38),

... Navajo George is a pretty old man, probably more than 70 years of age, and he has a good deal of stock, and it is harder for him to keep track of it than it was when he was younger and more active. Doubtless some of it has strayed away from inattentive shepherds, and some of it has been stolen by bad white men and possibly by equally bad Indians

Without land, few young Navajos could succeed as ranchers. Stacher's efforts to control leasing of the railroad lands were only partially successful. George and Delgadito had leased the railroad lands in two townships, and McGillivray, whom Stacher considered well-disposed toward the Navajos, had leased those in the Castillo Lake township. The Seven Lakes township was another key township. Sheriff Talle wanted it, but Stacher was

not sure that he could trust him, and he hoped that McGillivray would lease it (39). One complicating factor was the trader at Seven Lakes, George Howard (40). Stacher lacked confidence in Howard, and Talle had been friendly with him, but seemed to be breaking off his relationship. Stacher thought that he might then approve Talle's getting the lease (41). Finally, on May 5, he relented, and recommended that Talle be given leases on the railroad sections in two townships just south and southeast of Seven Lakes (42). Although the grass was good, the lakes were rapidly going dry (43), and Stacher's recommendations may have come too late to accomplish his objectives, for water development was badly needed.

Stacher learned that Will Finn had been rounding up unbranded Navajo stock and marking it with his own brand. In one case he took a stallion belonging to a Navajo living on the old reservation under Shelton's jurisdiction, and castrated and branded it. The horse returned to his proper owner, however, and the attempted theft was thus discovered (44). Another case of rustling also involved Wetherill somehow, but his connection in it is more tenuous.

Fred Howard, probably a relative of the trader at Seven Lakes, helped L. Harrington drive 30 cattle from Seven Lakes to Harrington's slaughter-house in the Zuni Mountains. On the way, they helped themselves to six head of cattle belonging to a Navajo headman, Kyotoneeto (Cayetanito), and his son. A number of Navajos saw and recognized the cattle, but, believing they had been purchased, did not make any objection at the time. However, the crime soon became known, and Stacher had both Harrington and Howard arrested. Both Will Finn and Richard Wetherill appeared as witnesses on behalf of Harrington, although what their interest was in the matter is not explained. The trial was held in Gallup, and jury selection was a difficult process. According to Stacher (46):

... Many prospective jurors were examined and two venires were exhausted before 12 good men could be secured. Many were examined and excused because of prejudice against Indians, others because they would believe a white man before they would an Indian, and still others because they would not believe an Indian under any circumstances.

The trial was long, and hard-fought on both sides. The Gallup district attorney, Alfred Ruiz, had the assistance of an Albuquerque lawyer, John Venable, who was hired with contributions raised by Stacher. After hearings for 2 days, plus night sessions, the jury returned about midnight of the second day with a verdict of guilty. The case was appealed, but the outcome of the appeal is not recorded (45) (46).

The events of the spring of 1910 were gradually undermining Wetherill's position at Pueblo Bonito. Stacher felt confident that his liquor cases against Pablo Wiggins and Santiago Gomez, and the horse-stealing case against Fred Moss, when they were finally brought to trial, would show involvement by Wetherill. He complained that Wetherill continued to desecrate the ruins by using rooms to house his chickens and pigeons, and recommended that he not be retained in the position of postmaster at Putnam (47).

Evidence supporting the theory that Wetherill had suffered financial setbacks from which he had not yet recovered is strengthened by his selling of his trading business and his leasing of his grazing land to Sheriff Talle. Just what the land-leasing deal involved is uncertain, but in June, while Stacher and his family were away on vacation, Talle's cattle were driven north to Chaco Canyon (48). The year had continued dry, and Finn had been digging water holes along the Escavada Wash (49).

Wetherill's financial problems, whatever they were, had probably led him to even more vigorous efforts to collect debts from the Navajos--especially after he had sold his store. He is said to have rounded up about 300 horses in the process of collecting debts at this time (50). Certainly the explosive events on June 22 are indicative of strong tensions between Navajos and whites.

While Wetherill and Talle were driving Talle's cattle north to the canyon, Finn had gone to the west toward Lake Valley to claim a horse. There are highly variable accounts concerning the ownership of the animal and how it came to be at the home of Hastiin Neez Biye', Hosteen Nez Begay, or Antonio Padilla. According to one source, the horse was a thoroughbred belonging to Wetherill's daughter, which had been stolen and badly mistreated. Finn had merely gone to bring it back home, but found it dead from being badly beaten (51) (52). According to Navajo sources, the horse was either one that Begay wanted to sell to Wetherill but which another Navajo also claimed, or one which he had already sold to Wetherill but which had run away to its original owner (53) (54). In any event, Finn went to Padilla's hogan with a companion, Tom O'Fallon, and accosted him at the doorway of his home. A disagreement over the horse ensued, and quite suddenly--apparently with no warning--Finn struck Padilla, first with his fist, and then with his pistol. Padilla was knocked unconscious, and left lying bleeding on the ground. Chiishch'ilin Biye' ("Son of the Late Curly Hair"), Padilla's brother-in-law, was working nearby in a cornfield. His sister called for his aid. They dragged Padilla into the shade, but concluded that he was dead. Chiishch'ilin Biye' decided that he should avenge

the death of his sister's husband. He first rode to Tsaya, where George Blake ran a trading post. He told Blake that Padilla was dead and that he would kill the murderer, bought ammunition for his rifle, and started for Pueblo Bonito. Blake went the 3 miles or so to Padilla's hogan, and found that the man was merely wounded. He was able to revive him with cold water, but thought he needed medical attention if he were to survive.

At Pueblo Bonito, a number of Navajos were gathered in the arroyo, gambling. Chiishch'ilin Biye' cached his rifle in the rocks, and joined the others. Their horses were tied nearby, and Welo had a rifle in a scabbard on his horse.

Whether Talle's cattle were yet there is uncertain, but by 6:00 p.m., Wetherill and Finn had come out to take the herd on to the range on the Escavada. Wetherill noticed the rifle on Welo's horse. Reports differ, but he either removed the rifle from the scabbard or took it away from Welo after Welo had done so. The weapon was loaded, and Wetherill removed the ammunition, then in a fit of anger swung the rifle against a fencepost, breaking the stock. Wetherill then cursed Chiishch'ilin Biye', telling him that he (Wetherill) wanted to fight. Chiishch'ilin Biye' asked Wetherill if he wanted to kill him, and Wetherill assured him that he did, saying, "I want to get your head," which was taken apparently as an allusion to the Anasazi skulls which Wetherill would buy from those Navajos willing to dig them up. Chiishch'ilin Biye' replied, "I'll get yours first." Although he had earlier been dissuaded from his intention to kill Finn by another Navajo, this exchange re-aroused his emotions, and he went to retrieve his rifle.

What happened next is, again, subject to very different accounts. McNitt's and Arrington's interpretations of the encounter describe it as an ambush. Navajo versions, both shortly after the fact and those told today, resemble a classic western "shoot-out," worthy of the best that Hollywood could produce. There is so little difference between Chiishch'ilin Biye's story as reported by Shelton in 1910 and the accounts given today by Navajos of the area that this version is, at the very least, one that has for many years been accepted as true by many people to whom it is significant, and it is thus fully as valid as the versions advocated by non-Indians. Shelton's report, being most nearly contemporary, is perhaps the best text thus far available to scholars (59):

... He (Chiishch'ilin Biye') got the gun and started down the road towards Pueblo Bonito and saw Wetherill

and Finn near the road with a bunch of cattle. When he was within about 150 yards of them they saw him and started towards him, loping their horses. Both of them had guns and were cursing and threatening him. He said that when they got within 25 yards of him, he jumped off his horse, and they began shooting at each other. He said that he shot at Wetherill six times knocking him off his horse. After Wetherill fell, he shot twice at Finn, when Finn ran.

Then he went up to where Wetherill was lying and asked him if he was still on the warpath and wanted to kill him, and shot him again in the head. Then he came back to the trading post near his home and asked the trader to write me a note saying that he had killed Wetherill and wanted to give himself up, which he did the next morning

Only one source, Marietta Wetherill, cites overt land conflict as a factor. However, her account is full of such striking disagreements with contemporary sources that it is probably one of the least reliable that exists, in spite of its detail. The several versions of the event present so much conflicting detail that a completely unbiased narrative cannot easily be constructed today (56-62).

The events following the final encounter between Chiishch'ilin Biye' and Richard Wetherill have been recounted by others in considerable detail, and many have little relevance to the course of events at Chaco Canyon. The various trials and lawsuits growing out of the affair will not be described in any detail here, and only those matters pertaining to the lives of the Navajos will be given special attention.

Both the whites and the Navajos thought that the killing was about to precipitate a war, or at least more general hostilities. The Navajos near the trading post had tried to stop Finn during his retreat to the Wetherill home, apparently believing that he had been involved in something when they heard the shots. Finn shot and wounded Hastiin Tsoh Bik'is in his flight (63). Finn evidently interpreted this action on the part of the Indians as indicative of a planned massacre, and the whites at Putnam sought refuge at the house. The Navajos, on the other hand, having learned of Wetherill's death, expected that this would lead to a calling out of the troops (it very nearly did), and to a full-scale military campaign against them (64) (65). Some Navajos even fled to hogans high on the mesa-rims for safety. Certain Navajos who had been in the vicinity at the time Wetherill was killed were charged with complicity in one way or another.

They were Hastiin Tsoh Bik'is, Joe Hosteen Yazzie, Tomacito, Billy Williams, Tomas Padilla, Besh Wigai, and Hastiin Neez Biye' (66).

The greatest impact of the affair was upon Chiishch'ilin Biye' and his family. Chiishch'ilin Biye' was about 34 years old, had a wife and five children of his own, and also an adopted daughter, perhaps a child of his wife by a former marriage. The adopted daughter was about 16 and already married, but of the other children, the oldest were two boys of about 13 and 10. The younger children were all girls (67). The older boy, later known as Tom Chischilly, was at this time entered in the Indian school at Grand Junction at his father's request (68) (69). Chiishch'ilin Biye' had to remain for 2 years at Shiprock in Shelton's custody until his trial, and then spent 3 years in prison at Santa Fe, having been released early for reasons of health (70a).

The effects of these dramatic events upon the Navajo community were varied, and are difficult to assess in their entirety. The Wetherill presence at Chaco Canyon soon ended, but other white stockmen moved in to appropriate some of the range that Wetherill had controlled, and the debts owing the estate had to be settled. The Eastern Navajos learned that wholesale war would not be made upon them for the wrongs committed by a few, and that the white man's courts could and often did deal fairly and on an individual basis in the cases of alleged crimes. The complications arising from the legal battles that followed would demand a great deal of their superintendent's time as well.

The simmering animosities that had preceded Wetherill's death were brought into the open by his death, and not only did they take up Stacher's time in legal matters, but also disrupted his administrative actions in the field. Jones, formerly one of his stockmen, and his wife managed to complicate the affairs of the substation at Blanco, as revealed by a letter Stacher wrote to explain some of his problems--a letter that raises many questions, but clearly shows the obstacles to efficient operations at this time (70b):

... I have given Mrs. Jones earnest support in her work, but I wish to further emphasize the facts contained in my letter of April 23, 1910, requesting her resignation. Judging from statements contained in Mrs. Dilliway's letter, I believe that her local representative in Blanco Canon has grossly and purposely written misleading statements relative to Mr. Pinkney's and my own actions in this matter. While Mr. Jones was Stockman he stored the forage

and grain for the government horses in the two tents owned by the Association (probably the Woman's National Indian Association, a missionary organization) at Blanco. When Mr. Pinkney relieved Mr. Jones as Stockman Mrs. Jones invited Mr. Pinkney to use one of these tents to live in. More than a month ago Mr. Pinkney was told that Mr. and Mrs. Jones would like to have the use of the tent he was occupying. He immediately and without protest moved out The forage and grain for the horses are still stored in the other tent, but Mr. Jones has been told that it would be vacated whenever they wished to use it.

Mrs. Jones and her husband have become very intimate with the Wetherills, spend considerable time there, and are lending their influence against the Indians in their trial for the killing of Richard Wetherill. Mrs. Jones has been absent from Blanco from May 26 to June 16, 20 days, and from June 23 to June 30, 7 days, and I learn that she is at present in Farmington. I am not informed as to her reason for being absent from her post of duty in Blanco, nor by whose authority

In July, Stacher wrote Simon Bibo in Grants regarding a horse Bibo had purchased from Will Finn and Will Howard. Stacher believed the animal to have been stolen by Finn from a Navajo and wanted Bibo to keep it until he could try to identify it (71).

Shelton attended to the preliminary hearings of the Navajos accused of complicity in the Wetherill killing, as well as to prosecution of Finn. He hired Charles A. Johnson, an attorney in Durango, Colorado, to assist in all of these cases (72). Stockman Pinkney was assigned the duty of serving subpoenas on the witnesses (73). The Wetherills hired three private attorneys to assist the district attorney in prosecuting the Navajos (74). The cases against all but Chiishch'ilin Biye' and two others were dropped during the preliminary hearings (75). One side-effect that developed from these hearings was a result of "considerable criticism ... made about the Navajos loafing around wasting time in sings and dances." In reaction to this, Shelton refused permission to H. B. Noel, the trader at Tesnospos, for holding a chicken-pull and horse races, and asked that the Navajos do no more "dancing or singing" until after the cases had been heard in court (76). Stacher was more lenient, but in giving Cayetanito permission to hold a ceremony, he gave specific instructions that there should be no trouble or drinking, and that there should be policemen present to act under Cayetanito's direction and arrest anybody who might get drunk or cause a disturbance (77). There is no indication in Stacher's instructions

that the presence of the police at the ceremony (probably an Enemyway) was an unusual procedure, and it may be that policing of major public gatherings of this sort had already been assumed as a routine function by the Government, very likely at the request of the families holding the ceremonies.

Shelton had been assigned to supervise protection of the Navajo interests in the impending trials. Stacher, being closer to the scene of events, was busy assisting with investigations, not only of the killing, but of the related cases. These included an alleged stealing of a calf by Finn (78) and details of Wetherill's methods of dealing with the Indians, such as a complaint by Lena, who lived at Joe Hosteen Yazzie's place, that she had worked for the Wetherills for 2 years and had never received any money (79).

In an attempt to protect the Navajos from excessive demands in the collection of debts related to the Wetherill estate, Stacher contended that all contested accounts should be checked by an Indian Service representative.

In Stacher's view (81):

Either Mr. Wetherill has been unjust, unfair, and dishonest in keeping his accounts or most of the Indians in this neighborhood are liars. Judging from the many reports of the Inspectors and Superintendents that have gone in to your Office, all giving adverse criticism of the conduct and character of Richard Wetherill, it hardly seems possible that all of these Indians who are making complaints can be liars.

Marietta Wetherill had been appointed administratrix of her late husband's estate. She objected to any observation of her efforts to collect debts, and filed a suit against Stacher, obtaining an injunction from a judge in Santa Fe restraining him from interfering in any way with her (81). Preparations for hearings in this litigation prevented Stacher from resuming his interrupted vacation, if not other work at the agency (82). When finally heard, Stacher was able to justify his actions to the judge, and the injunction was lifted (83).

Shelton's investigation of Lena's complaints revealed merely that she had \$13 owing to her from the Wetherill estate. She was given a medical examination while at Shiprock, and her lungs were found to be in bad condition (84).

Regular agency work did proceed in spite of the extra problems. Repairs were made on the sheep-dipping plant at

Tse-lo-ki (Tse Yigai, "White Rock"), and a new plant was begun at Kimbeto (85). The Kimbeto plant was to be a steam plant, and would replace a vat on the Escavada near the home of Hoolian (Julián) Dohee. The heater from the Escavada plant was to go to Torreon for use in a plant there (86).

Spotty rains resulted in localized water shortages, which hampered the allotting work. Whitehorse Lake was dry, and most of the Navajos not yet allotted lived in that vicinity. However, Stacher's policeman, Hosteen Tso-see (Hastiin Ts'osi, "Slim Man"), found water in Be-tah-nee-tso-see's Lake (Bit'ahnii Ts'osi), about 4 miles east of Seven Lakes (87) (88). As a result, Stacher sent notice to the Navajos that allotments would be surveyed in that area. These were to be the last allotments made, following which Kent would survey some tracts used by the Indian Service before leaving (89) (90). Another bit of business was finally resolved early in August, when Stacher succeeded in relieving Mrs. Jones of her position as field matron at Blanco, and sent Pinkney to give her a receipt for Government property she would turn in (91). Good summer rains did not come in 1910, and the people had to move their herds to the few reliable water sources, particularly Mariano Lake and the Chaco Arroyo. In the latter, shallow wells could be dug in the bed of the wash (92).

In August, Stacher wrote Howell Jones, the land commissioner for the Santa Fe railroad, asking whether the railroad lands in townships 18-20, ranges 10-12, had been leased (93). In the following month, he wrote again to inquire about the lands in the same ranges in townships 21 and 22 (94). However, the reason for this interest does not appear in the extant records. A letter from Stacher to his stockman at Kimbeto, Charles Pinkney, supplies considerable detail regarding conditions in the Chaco country in the late summer (95):

Policeman Na-pa-be-gay and Hosteen Tso, and son came in with the buckskin pony, we have examined the brand and find them as you state, 2 left hip and 11 left shoulder. I have let Hosteen Tso have the horse temporarily, pending my writing to D. J. Miera at Cuba, should I not hear from him within a reasonable time have Hosteen take the horse over to Col. L. Welsh at Bloomfield, who I believe is the proper person to take charge of estray horses.

The boy that made a different brand of the 2 by pulling out the hair has been made to see that it is a very serious thing to change a brand, tho I do not know whether the law is such as to consider it a crime for pulling out the hair or not

I have instructed these Indians under no circumstances to bother Mrs. Wetherill's cattle, horses, sheep, or goats ... and under no circumstances to keep any ones (sic) stock in their possession and should a stray animal come along and they did not find the owner to take it to you and you would advise them what to do in the case. I do not believe that the Indians are running off Mrs. Wetherill's or Finns (sic) stock as reported to you ... however, make inquiries and if such should be the case we will punish the Indians just as we would any one else. At all times advise the Indians along this line, tho I am sure you are doing so.

Hosteen Tso complains that some of the Putnam people are taking Indian horses in there. I have advised him that if such should be the case to report to you and if you are satisfied that they are taking Indian ponies you would take your police and go to Putnam and investigate the case and should (it) be the case, make demand for any Indian ponies they may (have) and if not turned over, we will not hesitate to get out warrants for the parties and repley the horses if ownership is proven. Should you again see Finn have him state something definitely who has driven or is driving their stock over on the old reservation. And look into anything he tells for the truth and see if there is anything wrong. Of course I am of the opinion that they will do almost anything to assist other cases that may come up. All for effect.

Not long after, Stacher replied to Marietta's complaints, informing her that he had been unable to learn of any stock belonging to either her or the estate being held by the Navajos. He asked that she identify those who had stock on shares, promising to see that any that belonged to her would be delivered. Only Padilla had been thus far named as having Wetherill stock, but he denied this, saying that Marietta's cattle were roaming over his and other allotments (96).

Liquor continued to be a problem, although perhaps on a diminished scale. In September, Pablo Wiggins was indicted by a grand jury (97). Whiskey-selling was reported at Raton Springs in September, and at Cabezón in December. An agency court was in operation, and sentences of 15 to 30 days were being given for drunkenness (98). The case against Wiggins was apparently a new one, and not the incident that had involved his mother, for two maps in the Pueblo Bonito letterbook, undated but among letters dating from September, show a "Hogan where Pablo sold the Indians Whiskey" about 1½ miles southeast of Pueblo Pintado, called "Pueblo Alto" on the maps (99).

Investigations for the trials led to the identification of certain Spanish-Americans who were at Putnam at the time of Wetherill's death (100):

I recently had a talk with Trancito Gabaldon in Albuquerque. He was at Putnam the day Richard Wetherill was killed, and gave me the whole situation as he saw and heard it ... he heard Wetherill call the Indians "sons-of-bitches" and heard him say that he would kill all of them before they would kill Finn. He saw Wetherill point the gun at old Welo, and later break the Indian's gun over the post. Gabaldon also said that Santiago Gomez ... now of Cuba ... was also present and heard and saw about the same things as himself.

Whether Gabaldon was present in Chaco Canyon as an employee of Wetherill or was in some way involved in the operation of the trading post is not specified.

Marietta continued to complain to Stacher. Replying to a letter from her toward the end of September he wrote (101):

... In view of the course you have pursued in the premises, I consider that you really do not want our assistance. It is my opinion that had you desired our help, you would have shown what Indians have stock in their possession on shares or otherwise and the nature of the account against the Indians under the jurisdiction of this agency. Until you give something definite to work from, you cannot expect much real benefit

Now, Mrs. Wetherill, if you really want assistance from me, you know how to get it.

It is unfortunate that Pinkney's reports to Stacher, written at Kimbeto, have not come to light. Stacher's responses are revealing, but often also raise questions. A letter written in October shows that the trading post was again in different hands and that sheep-dipping was under way, as well as hinting of further difficulties with Mrs. Wetherill (102):

Please have the Indians get the sheep dip away from Mrs. Wetherill's place at once. Mr. Thompson, the colored man that has leased Mrs. Wetherill's place was here yesterday and we talked over the situation. He agrees not to pay the Indians in store checks or Mexican money. Please inform the Indians that they can work for this man and any agreement they make with him

will be allright (sic) with me. Whenever they made an agreement, urge them to carry it out.

And under all conditions I want them to be peacable (sic) and to cause no trouble. Urge them to get store books and if they buy supplies for cash or on time, have the transaction put down This will eliminate disputes. I think it possible that authority will be granted for the erection of quarters at your place ... and for the completion of the sheep dip, but it will not be before the snow flies

The new trader was apparently D. Lee Thompson, who in 1910 replaced Richard Wetherill as local observer for the U. S. Weather Bureau (103a).

Pressure from white stockmen did not diminish; it continued, in part at least, to take the form of complaints of scabies among Navajo sheep, in which some unidentified source advocated the sending of state inspectors onto the extension to seize infected sheep. As a result, Stacher wrote a report on his dipping program. He noted that Pinkney had dipped about 20,000 head north of the Chaco by late October, and had another 10,000 head yet to do. In addition, 36,749 sheep had been dipped at Torreon, and 6,000 at Tsaya. A shortage of funds had caused delays. Only recently had the materials for the steam-heated plant at Kimbeto been shipped and the Tse-lo-ki plant repairs been accomplished. However, infection was well under control. Only one Navajo flock with scabies had been found, but one infected Spanish-American herd had been dipped at Torreon in order to protect the Navajo stock. Stacher believed if trespassers could be kept off the reservation, the disease would soon be completely eliminated (103b). The Navajos were so willing to dip their sheep that some even proposed driving their herds to Grants for the purpose if the Tse-lo-ki plant could not be used. However, the delay there became not one of facilities, but one of waiting for the state inspector to come to supervise the dipping (104).

Grand-jury proceedings in the Wetherill matters were held in Aztec in November. Chiishch'ilin Biye' was indicted for first-degree murder, and placed under Shelton's custody until his trial. Joe Hosteen Yazzie, Hastiin Tsoh Bik'is, and Tomás Padilla were charged with assault with intent to kill, and released on \$500 bond each. Finn was indicted on three charges: for assaulting Hastiin Neez Biye'; for assault with intent to kill Hastiin Tsoh Biye'; and for stealing a calf from Hastiin Tsoh Biye'. Stacher's clerk, B. P. Six, was indicted for carrying a revolver when he went to investigate the killing of Richard Wetherill, Marietta's complaints against Stacher were dismissed, and Stacher was of the opinion that he should sue her

for criminal libel and charge her with perjury, but refrained from doing so pending instructions from Washington (105).

Shortly after he returned from the hearings in Aztec, Stacher was busy with applications for grazing leases. He received inquiries concerning available land from various sources (106-109). He recommended that the Government lease reservation land at 1¢ per acre (110). He was also able to continue his arrangement with the Santa Fe railway whereby preference was given to leasees that he approved for railroad lands (111). Two half-townships, the west half of T22N, R10W, and east half of T22N, R11W, were recommended for A. M. Puett and W. H. Carlile of Cortez (112).

Stacher and Talle seem to have had some disagreement about this time. Early in January, Stacher wrote to complain that Talle was bringing in thousands of sheep (113). Talle had leased the railroad lands in the Seven Lakes area, and Stacher hoped to control his relations with the Navajos through the offer of a lease on the Government land in the same area (114) (115). When Talle objected to the requirement that he lease the reservation land, Stacher threatened to lease it to someone else (116).

More powerful political forces had been at work. Before Stacher could do more to protect Navajo interests through control of leasing, the extension was revoked by Executive order 1284, dated January 16, 1911 (117). Stacher had not expected this action so soon, for he was actively trying to do leasing to within a few days of the revocation (118) (119). In fact, he does not seem to have learned of it until February. He then returned money for a lease already completed (120). In a letter to Father Anselm Weber, the missionary at St. Michaels who worked so hard to protect Navajo lands, he commented that "politicians rejoice" (121). There can be little doubt that this was a discouraging event for Stacher and the Eastern Navajos.

However, work to strengthen the agency continued. Early in January, the boiler for the dipping-plant at Kimbeto was sent out, along with materials for the roof of Pinkney's new house. Miss Mary L. Gaines was assigned as field matron at Blanco (122). George and Delgadito renewed their leases on railroad lands for 1911, deferring payment until they sold their wool in April. A blizzard hit the area in late February, but no major stock losses were reported (123).

At the beginning of March, the Navajos brought word to Stacher that Talle was fencing at Seven Lakes, and excluding Navajo stock while he let his own cattle range even into the

treaty reservation (124). Father Weber wrote to Washington to lament the influx of "more sheep and cattle men and ... some unscrupulous political bosses of counties, who happen to be wealthy sheepmen at the same time--for instance, Tom Burns and Epimenio Mierd" (125). The renewed aggressiveness of white stockmen may have been a factor in causing Navajo George to raise the money for his lease earlier than required. On March 28, Stacher was able to forward for him \$115 for the rental on the railroad lands in T19N, R9W (126).

Sandoval County officials continued to arrest Navajos in McKinley County. In February, a Navajo named Sam Baca, with some companions, visited Vicente Torres' trading post at Raton Springs, 12 miles inside McKinley County. Torres sold whiskey to the Navajos accompanying Baca, and as the drinking progressed a fight broke out in which Torres did not make out at all well. He had a sheriff's deputy from Cuba, in Sandoval County, arrest Baca, who soon escaped and fled to Crownpoint to report the affair to Stacher. Stacher protested the arrest (127). Torres attempted to retaliate by seizing Baca's wagon. By this time Stacher had discovered that the trading post was on a Navajo allotment, and warned him that he was not only in McKinley County, but was trespassing (128).

Torres was not the only trader on Indian land. Thompson had apparently moved out of the old Wetherill store, and was doing business in a house owned by George. This seems to have come to Stacher's attention as a result of a claim by Hosteen Cli-shin-i-gy (probably Tłizhinigii, "The Black Man") that Thompson had some turquoise beads of his for which he refused to pay. Thompson had left a Spanish-American clerk in charge of his store, and this man was rumored to have taken the beads with him to Cabezón. Stacher threatened to treat Thompson as a trespasser unless he settled for the beads and arranged to pay George rent on the house. In addition, Thompson had borrowed a burro from Hastiin Beyal, whose son, Eske Yazzie (probably Ashkii Yazhi, "Little Boy"), was working at the trading post (129) (130). The outcome of these claims does not appear to be recorded, and it may be that Thompson gave up trading in the Chaco country.

In August, the Wetherill land was deeded by Marietta Wetherill to Epimenio A. Miera (131), but the sale had apparently been made in April (132). Just who was operating the trading post at Pueblo Bonito at this time is uncertain, but Miera was undoubtedly the owner of the business.

With the loss of the reservation, Stacher made extra efforts to have the railroad sections leased by the wealthier Navajos.

He asked A. B. McGaffey of Thoreau whether he would be willing to relinquish his lease in T19N, R12W, in favor of a Navajo (133). Apparently this request was denied, but Bit'ahnii Yazhi and Bit'ahnii Ts'osi did lease T18N, R8W, and T19N, R8W. Stacher was also able to reach an agreement with Talle that he thought satisfactory (134) (135). Preparations for dipping sheep were well underway in April of 1911; supplies were ordered and the plants were being gotten into condition for the work (136) (137).

Stacher and Marietta Wetherill were reaching an agreement of sorts for the collection of debts due the Wetherill estate. Albert Blake at the Tsaya trading post had been hired by Mrs. Wetherill to do the collecting, and Stacher deputized Tomacito to assist (138) (139). He also tried to collect money due Navajos from the estate. Joe Hosteen Yazzie had done work digging water holes for Richard, apparently for the use of the cattle that Talle was bringing north at the time Wetherill was shot. Whether Talle or the estate was liable for the debt had not been decided, but Stacher felt that since Yazzie had been hired by Wetherill, he should be paid from the estate (140). Both Stacher and Pinkney tried to adjust the various claims (141).

Early in May, Shelton complained that Blake was using excessively coercive methods in his collecting activities, and that Tomacito and Nelson White, also employed by Blake, were aiding him (142) (143). Further investigation revealed that Blake was threatening to send Navajos to jail who did not either pay what he claimed they owed or at least sign a note for that amount (144). Stacher defended his course of action in the matter. He and two stockmen, Bryant and Pinkney, had gone over as many of the accounts with Blake and the Navajos as they could so as to protect the Indians' interest, but it had not been possible to have an Indian Service representative investigate all cases. With regard to Tomacito, he noted that (146):

... Thomcito (sic) acknowledged a debt to the Wetherill estate of four or five hundred dollars, and without means of making any payment, I saw no objection to appointing him a policeman as Mr. Blake agreed to allow him \$2 per day to be credited to his account and 50 cents in money

Stacher thought that the giving of notes was an acceptable method if no interest were charged (146). The sheep that Wetherill had had out on shares seem to have been the cause of many of the complications, as shown by Stacher's explanation of two cases (147):

Malyana and Willeto came in here yesterday in connection to the delivery of sheep to them by Tom Horse Racer and they corroborate Tom's story in regard to the turning over of the sheep. Most of what Tom delivered to Malyana and Willeto died and the hides and balance of old ewes were delivered to Wetherill. It being in the winter then with little feed and cold weather was the cause of most of them dying.

Charley of Seven Lakes states in regard to the sheep that were turned over to him by Wetherill at Seven Lakes to take along with his bunch as he was moving over towards Bonito, he turned them over to Old George's wife's son at George ('s) and that this fellow took them to Wetherill's and delivered them to him before he was killed. This bunch was marked at Seven Lakes with a red paint mark on their backs, including several sold Wetherill by Charley.

The potential for conflicting claims as to who owed what to whom was obviously great when mobile and perishable property such as sheep was involved, and when verbal agreements had been made months before. Stacher's efforts to work out each case within his jurisdiction seem to have been relatively successful, although he undoubtedly had to neglect other duties in order to protect the Navajos' interests. Shelton had no representatives in the field to check on claims against the people under his charge, and he and Blake were very soon at odds (148). In explaining his policies to the Washington office, Stacher wrote (149):

... Indians came to me for advise (sic), some acknowledging their debts, others asserting that the claims against them were unjust. I advised them to pay just claims and to decline payment of unjust claims. Many acknowledged only part of the debts and manifested willingness to pay what they owed.

I feared the disputing would lead the Indians into trouble and probably into court, and felt it my duty to examine as many of the accounts as possible

... I deny most emphatically that I allowed coercive or undue methods to be used in the collection of these accounts

... I feel that at all times it is incumbent upon us to teach the Indians that it is right to pay all just debts and not evade them, for the moral effect at least.

Even while Stacher was pursuing a narrow course between Shelton's accusations that he was allowing overly coercive methods to be used in collecting the debts and Marietta's accusations that he was hindering her work as administratrix, Will Finn was accused of new horse-stealing activities (150). When Paul Arrington brought a herd of horses to Farmington, claiming that they were wild animals secured near Cuba and Cabezon, Stacher's suspicions were immediately aroused. He wrote (153):

... So far as I am able to learn there are no wild horses in the neighborhood of Cuba and Cabezon. I learn that Paul was recently over to see Finn and Mrs. W., so the "wild horses" can be understood.

He asked Col. Welsh, the livestock inspector, for the herd to be checked for brands (152) (153).

Navajo leases of railroad sections were not completed until July. Delgadito was finally able to pay for his lease on the south half of T21N, R8W, and the north half of T20N, R8W, in June (154), but George and Delgadito had not raised the money needed for their joint lease as late as July 12 (155).

Toward the end of July there was an oil strike at Seven Lakes, and Stacher at first feared that this would be an excuse for the politicians to get the allotments cancelled (156). There was an immediate rush, and some 3,000 claims were filed on lands in the area (157). Stacher warned all claimants on allotments that they would have to lease from the allottees (158). The allottees possessed the mineral rights to their lands, and these rights could be leased (159).

Stacher's annual report for 1911 and special reports on sheep and the need for water development provide a good survey of conditions at that time. Most Navajos lived in "dome-shaped" hogans, and only a "very few" log and stone houses were in use, which would seem to indicate that the forked-pole hogan was seldom seen by this date. Changes were taking place in the management of livestock (160):

These Indians depend chiefly upon their herds of sheep and goats for their living, of which they had, according to the last season's dipping record, 123,544 head. As the majority ... have been induced to run separate buck herds, so as to have lambs come after cold weather has passed, the saving of a larger percentage of the increase has been effected The more wealthy Indians, who do not have to depend upon blanket-

weaving for a living, are grading up their sheep by purchasing a good grade of merinos ... merino wool for blanket-making is not equal to the coarse, greaseless wool of the straight Navajo sheep. The blanket-makers, who depend largely upon this industry for a living, require a coarse wool strain. No improvement in the coarse-wool sheep is noted

This progress in timing the breeding of sheep was quite recent. But a few months before, Stacher had found the opposite to be the prevalent mode (161):

... A practice of many Indians is to let their rams run with the ewe herd the entire year which results in the loss of many of the increase. The larger portion of the lambs dropped during the winter months die from starvation and exposure We have made substantial progress inducing the Indians to run their bucks in separate herds, keeping them entirely separated until the proper time for breeding. It will be the duty of each of the three Stockmen when once established to see that all Indians follow this course

Although Stacher advocated the use of merinos to improve Navajo sheep, agent Paquette at Fort Defiance had had good results crossing Navajo sheep under his jurisdiction with Rambouillet rams, and thought that Cotswold would be even better for keeping the wool of the offspring of a type that would be well adapted to use on Navajo looms (162). Navajo wool sold for 10¢ to 15¢ a pound in 1911 (163).

Stacher found that water development became especially needed after the extension was revoked. White stock-owners were drilling deep wells and providing them with windmills, but these cost about \$1,000 each, and were beyond the Navajos' means. Both wells and reservoirs were needed so that the allotments and surrounding lands could be utilized (164). During the year, the agency stockmen worked with the Navajos to construct reservoirs and to improve the small seep springs (165). Heavy rains in July caused bad road conditions, but watered the Navajos' fields, and good crops were anticipated (166).

Stacher had eight policemen on his force, and directed his first efforts at law enforcement against drinking and gambling. Most of the trouble was among the people living along the southern border toward the railroad. Sentences involved labor only, because the jail had not yet been completed. One Navajo, living near Bluewater, had learned from Spanish-American acquaintances how to distill corn whiskey, but had been arrested,

and after serving his sentence had promised to make no more. Some Navajos guilty of drinking or gambling had come voluntarily to confess their crimes, surrender their playing cards, and serve their sentences (167).

No medical services, aside from amateur emergency aid, were available at the agency, and most treatment was by native ceremonial methods. Only trachoma was considered a major problem; even tuberculosis was not common (168). However, later in the year there was an outbreak of smallpox, which was first reported on September 3 (169). Ferdinand Shoemaker, a doctor, was sent at once. The disease first appeared at Torreon, probably introduced by Spanish-Americans. Ignacio Gordo, a former policeman at the Kimbeto subagency, along with his wife and one child, had been exposed to it at Torreon, and became ill after returning to their home about 10 miles from Kimbeto. One of Gordo's sons, a 6-year-old boy, lived with his grandfather about 4 miles away, and came down with the disease while at a dance about 20 miles off. Thus, many more people had been exposed to the disease, and Shoemaker recommended that all of the 800 or so people in the Kimbeto District be vaccinated. However, he was ordered to Fort Defiance just as the vaccine arrived (170a) (170b). He was able to return to Kimbeto on September 25. No new cases had been reported, and everybody known to have been exposed was still in quarantine. He immediately began a program of vaccination, treating all whom he met on the roads, and visiting peoples' homes. Within 4 days he had vaccinated everybody within 15 or 20 miles of Kimbeto except those living to the north, but learned that many of the residents of the area had gone to the cornfields on the reservation. On the 29th he went to Torreon, where he vaccinated more people. Altogether he immunized 354 Navajos and 21 whites, leaving with Pinkney materials for 20 more vaccinations. He commended highly the attitudes and cooperation of the Navajos, especially his interpreters, Willie Enoah and Juan Devore (171).

Stacher's efforts at political organization had been relatively limited (172):

Each locality is urged to select headmen from their midst who are honest, do not drink, and are impartial in the settlement of differences between them. Some of the duties of these selectmen are,- reporting births and deaths, inducing Indians wishing to marry to apply for license, adjusting petty differences, and leading all to follow progressive movements.

The Navajos receive no annuities or other gratuities. Value received from labor for any issue of tools or implements is required. In fact, we give nothing free

except advice, which is sometimes taken, sometimes rejected. This plan has facilitated our work in some respects.

There was no regular court, nor any Indian judges. The superintendent administered justice, but the stockman at Kimbeto was also authorized to deal with minor infractions (173). An interesting document is a pledge thumbprinted on October 13 by Calletana (Cayatano), Hosteen Nez Begay (Hastiin Neez Biye'), Mariana Begay (Mariano Biye'), and Tom Bicenti (174):

The undersigned Navaho Indians each for themselves promise to refrain from drinking and disorder of anykind (sic), from this date and agree to assist in preventing other Indians from bringing whiskey or other intoxicants among Indians, and to promptly report any violation by bootleggers.

The occasion for this vow is not known. Stacher did not confine his efforts to control the liquor traffic to his own jurisdiction, but tried to stop the transportation of whiskey across the Eastern Navajo country into Shelton's area. When he learned that one of Joe Hosteen Yazzie's sons had seen Billy Shaggy headed for the old reservation with nine bottles, he instructed Pinkney to send the son immediately to inform Shelton (175).

Land problems were to be Stacher's major concern for the rest of his career at Crownpoint. Late in October, Bit'ahnii Ts'osi and Sheriff Talle decided to exchange leases of railroad lands with each other. The reasons for this odd transaction are not known, but the superintendent approved, and sent a request to the railway company (176).

A more serious threat to Navajo land holdings was a sudden reluctance on the part of the land office to file allotment applications. Almost every mail delivery brought returned applications for which additional proofs were required. Many were allotments to minor children. A new allotting agent, William Williams, was sent to investigate and secure the needed evidence (177) (178).

Williams was sent first to the Chaco region, where Pinkney was asked to give him all assistance possible and to use both of his policemen to expedite the work (179). Doubts as to policies and fears that whites would take advantage of any technicalities to dispossess the Navajos were undoubtedly strong, but Stacher tried to reassure his employees and the Navajos whom they would advise. He wrote Mary Gaines, the field matron at Blanco, that since the allotments there had been made on lands

not included within the extension, the allottees might be required to comply with the same conditions as homesteaders to establish their claims, and they should be told (180)

... to stay on their allotments as much as possible and make some improvements on them, as the surest guaranty of protection. The Office at Washington has already obtained reports showing the conditions existing there, involving the right of these Indians to their allotments as shown by the manner of occupancy etc., under the law, and it is not believed that the Government will permit any disturbance so long as they continue to endeavor to remain on or about their lands. The fact that they are compelled to go the hills for protection in winter will not, in my judgement, militate against their interests so long as they return and occupy the lands in summer.

Stacher complied with several requests for plats showing allotments--most, if not all, from persons interested in making leases for oil wells. He made no charge for this service, but hoped to be repaid with smooth working relations with the speculators (181-183).

The multitude of problems again held up dipping, which was in progress at Kimbeto in October when Wero was paid to deliver a tank and a man was sent to help run the boiler (184).

The Wetherill affairs continued to take Stacher's time, and undoubtedly caused as much worry as any of the others. He was increasingly involved in getting evidence for the defense (185-187). A minor dispute developed between Stacher and Shelton over money contributed by the Navajos to aid in the defense of those accused. Stacher had turned the fund over to Shelton for handling (188), keeping only enough to pay for an interpreter (189). Early in December, Shelton had only \$200 left, and believed that this could be used only for the defense of Chiishch'ilin Biye' and Besh Yigai (190). Stacher objected to this view, noting that Juan Etcitty and Tomás Padilla had been among the larger contributors. He had already paid out \$125 for various expenses, had sent Shelton \$135, and had only enough to reimburse Frank Walker for interpreting at the forthcoming trials in Aztec and Santa Fe. But he would try to raise more (191). Shelton had taken up collections at Two Gray Hills and at the Cornfields on the lower Chaco, and the people at these places had specified that they were donating for the defense of Chiishch'ilin Biye' and Besh Yigai (192). Both were men from the Lake Valley region, west of the canyon (193). Exactly how the relationships were figured by the Navajos is not entirely clear, but these two obviously had closer ties with the people on the reservation than did their neighbors.

The collection of the accounts due the Wetherill estate continued. Blake had been replaced, and the complaints about methods of collection had ceased (194). Shelton agreed to work with the new collection agent, F. A. Pierce of Aztec, if he would restrict his collecting from reservation Indians to activities at Shiprock, and give Shelton a list of the debtors who would be summoned to the agency and allow Shelton to go over the accounts with them (195). In spite of his earlier objections, Shelton was now adopting Stacher's strategy for dealing with the problem so fraught with potential for trouble.

Yet another change in the collector of these debts was made in 1912. A Durango attorney, Charles Johnson, who was defending the Navajos in the various cases against them, initiated correspondence with Stacher on the issue in February. Stacher was continuing his former policies, and making them more strict than before. He insisted that all settlements be made in the presence of an agency employee, and asked that whoever was sent to make the collections not be a resident of Indian country (196). Apparently there were delays, but by May, Stacher had been informed that Frank Wood had been appointed to do the job and recommended that the best time to start would be during the wool season, because stock was in poor condition and the Navajos had little with which to make payments (197).

Wood did not visit the Chaco region to make the collections until August. Stacher's instructions to Pinkney show how the business was to be handled (198):

... Send for Thomcito (sic) and see if he would work for Mr. Wood to notify the Indians to come to your place and arrange to settle their accounts as far as they consistently can. See that receipts are taken by the Indians that do pay. I think that this matter should be disposed of as soon as possible. Of course there are Indians that have nothing to pay accounts which they acknowledge and of course cannot be collected. Please lend all moral support in having them pay their just accounts

Do not give notes bearing interest during time period or at maturity. Any partial payments see that amount is endorsed on back of note if any exists and receipt given. Mr. Woods says he will take stock and allow market price on any account. Use police only where the Indian's interest is at stake. If Thomcito (sic) can help Mr. Woods see that he receives proper credit and receipt.

The problem of funds to pay Johnson and other expenses arising from the charges against Chiishch'ilin Biye' and his neighbors continued to disturb Stacher. Early in January 1912, he wrote Shelton to point out that the charges against Besh Ligai had been dropped, so that there should be sufficient money to help at least with Tomás Padilla's defense, because he could not see any reason for the Navajos at Two Gray Hills and the Cornfields objecting to helping Padilla. The county court, he noted, would pay only \$3 per day for the services of an interpreter, and would not allow mileage. Frank Walker would have to come 150 miles to assist at the trial (199). Stacher did make further efforts to get contributions from the off-reservation Navajos, but found that they had little money to spare unless they sold their sheep (200).

The demands on the Navajos' resources were not limited to the need for money to defend those charged in the white man's courts. With the new year came the necessity of renewing the leases on railroad lands. The wealthier Navajos, those who might be expected to contribute the most to help their Tribesmen, were those who held the railroad leases. The historical record does not specify whether they paid this personally in full or received contributions from relatives who shared the range with them. Some sharing of these costs would seem most likely in view of the Navajo ways of handling livestock, with animals belonging to many different family members included in one herd (201).

By the middle of January, Bit'ahnii Ts'osi and Bit'ahnii Yazhi were trying to raise the money for their lease in T18N, R9W. George and Delgadito did not expect to renew their joint lease in T21N, R9W, in part because somebody was suing Delgadito for \$534, and in part because there were a great many Spanish-American sheep grazing there (202). However, each did intend to renew his individual leases (203).

Stacher's efforts to control the white leasees who got the lands that the Navajos could not afford received a slight setback in the spring. Talle was not re-elected sheriff in McKinley county, and appears to have devoted more of his attention to his stock-raising. He had T18N, R10W, near Seven Lakes where he had control of a reservoir built originally by a Navajo (perhaps Bit'ahnii Ts'osi's lake). He was excluding the Navajos from this water, and had some 800 cattle ranging freely over the country, trespassing on the unfenced allotments of the Navajos (204). Talle had turned the Seven Lakes township over to a Mr. Bibo, perhaps the trader in Grants. In spite of all problems, on May 6, Stacher was able to send the railroad \$347.19, covering Delgadito's lease of lands in T20N, R8W, and T21N, R8W; Bit'ahnii Ts'osi's lease in T18N, R9W; and George's lease in T20N, R9W, which George had moved northward one township (205).

Jones was still following Stacher's recommendations as to leasees to be favored when Stacher was able to find ranchers whom he believed would respect the Navajos' interests. In August he recommended Goulding Brothers and Company of Aztec for the east half of T21N, R10W, and west halves of T21N, R9W, and T22N, R9W. He hoped to also find a prospective lessee that he could place in the east half of T21N, R9W (206). By this time Talle seems to have again satisfied Stacher as to his reliability, and received his approval to lease the railroad sections in two townships further south (207). His decision to do so may have been strongly influenced by his need to expedite the leasing if he were to retain Howell Jones' good will. In early September, he was finally forced to return two leases unexecuted--the joint lease of George and Delgadito, and another joint lease intended for the two Bit'ahnii clansmen (208). By the end of September, he was writing Jones in a most apologetic vein (210):

Answering your letter of the 24th instant will say that I am fully aware that the Indians as well as myself have not come through in a way that I should like to have done, and you have favored us at many times and I fully appreciate your kindness in giving the Indians preference in leasing. I can say that we have used our best endeavor to get the Indians to lease more lands ahead of our white neighbors but to (sic) often the Indians will not do as we advise until it is too late for them to secure lease and thus their range is restricted by your leasing to other parties which is of course your right.

His embarrassment was not solely the result of a failure to get all the leases accepted, but was compounded by the fact that \$60.35 given for part payment on a lease by Venecio Castillo had been stolen from the agency safe while Stacher was on vacation. Not wanting either the Indians or himself to suffer the loss, he was forced to ask whether he could be given credit for that amount as a commission on the leases he had helped negotiate. He ended the letter in the same mood that he began it (210):

... I am placed in a rather peculiar position in this matter and certainly will appreciate the adjustment as requested. If it was possible to get the Indians to lease all the railroad land belonging to you (sic) Company I would have them do so but I hope you will appreciate the difficulties we have in getting Indians interested in their future welfare and to look ahead for their own protection and range for increased number of stock. Thanking you to consider

favorable (sic) the foregoing request and with full appreciation of past favors, courtesies and kindness

Stacher's efforts did bear fruit. It was in about 1912 that Jerry B. Farris took over the Seven Lakes Ranch. Testifying years later, he could claim that (211):

We did not illegally fence our townships, as ... the larger stockmen did, but we left the Indian on the range We never in any way molested the Indian. In fact, the Indians will tell you that we watered hundreds of their sheep and other live-stock at our wells during the dry seasons

The allotments caused further headaches. Stacher was required to get more information to help gain approval of the allotments in the Kimbeto area (212). In his annual report, he complained that (213):

There seems to be a systematic political attempt to prevent the Indians from securing patents to the lands allotted them, and many applications are held for cancellation.

Some of the allotments were found to be defective, and sometimes an allottee would refuse to sign the necessary papers (214).

Not only was there difficulty in processing the allotment applications, but the oil strike had brought in many prospectors, and the difficulty of determining the allotments on the ground in order to protect these many small tracts finally led Stacher to request a transit (215).

Stacher's first general meeting with his headmen was held March 6 and 7, 1912, probably at Crownpoint. In preparation for the gathering, he prepared a list of duties of the headmen, which included seeing that licenses were obtained for all marriages; reporting births and deaths; assisting in settling estates; investigating and reporting upon all disorders which included drunkenness, gambling, and trespass; encouraging construction of improvement on allotments and enlargement of farms; and care of sheep and organization of ram herds. Supervision of ram herds entailed reporting the owners who did not cooperate; overseeing the herds to see that the bucks were not distributed until instructed by the superintendent; and ensuring that all deaths of bucks were noted, and that the hides with ears were preserved (216).

The meeting was open to all, and many interested Navajos came to hear talks giving instructions for farming, house-building, fencing and care of livestock, leasing, marriage and separation, inheritance, and other subjects. Stacher reported a strong interest exhibited by the crowd (217).

Separate buck herds had become the norm. In 1911, about 60 percent of the Navajos had their rams in separate herds; in 1912, all were thought to have accepted the practice. Breeding was timed so that the lambs arrived about May 1. An increase of over 25,000 sheep was attributed largely to this and perhaps other improved methods of stock handling (218).

Stacher's annual report also shows that whiskey was becoming an increasing problem, although still confined mainly to the edges of his territory. A special investigator had been sent who soon had 23 cases to present in court (219). H. L. Hall, of Chama, obviously a stockowner, complained about bootlegging, and about a drunken fight in Largo Canyon which involved both Navajos and Spanish-Americans, including one poor fellow from Kimbeto who was said to have been "biling drunk." Hall's concern was not the wellbeing of the Navajos, nor even keeping the peace. He lamented that drunk sheepherders were expensive (220).

Oil exploration provided an unexpected bonus--the discovery of artesian water at two wells within 12 miles of the agency--something that would give considerable stimulus to water development. Navajo efforts at development included building new houses, corrals, fences, and community reservoirs (221).

Events for 1912 at Pueblo Bonito are poorly documented. On June 27, Charles F. Spader was appointed postmaster to succeed Richard Wetherill (222). He was also appointed as weather observer for the Putnam station for that year (223). Spader was later reported trading there and living in the ruin, and it may be presumed that he was also doing so in 1912 (224). On October 5, a patent was issued for 12.98 acres of the Wetherill homestead to Roger Wetherill, a minor son of Richard and Marietta (225).

Chiishch'ilin Biye' did not stand trial for killing Wetherill until June 1912, nearly 2 years after the event (226). The prosecution had five lawyers in the court room (227). Testimony extended into the evenings, and a verdict was not delivered until Saturday, June 8 (228). The hearings must have been an ordeal for all the Chaco Navajos who took part, for it is doubtful that any knew English well enough to be able to follow the proceedings. Shelton summed up the outcome in a letter to W. M. Peterson, supervisor of Indian Schools, who was in Farmington at the time (229):

... Some one handed me your note in which you said you thought it would be a good thing to let Ches chil ling bega take a light sentence rather than make a new trial. You said you had talked to a number of the jurors and that was their feeling.

I have to say that the sentence was from five to ten years in the penitentiary, which means, of course, that he will have to serve only the minimum time if his conduct is good. This is a very reasonable sentence under the circumstances, and, ordinarily, I would say to let the man serve his sentence, but I have been a little reluctant to do this on account of the Finn case and the other cases not being disposed of. I wanted the prosecution to understand that we were still on the job. I also wanted the people who are not quite so sympathetic and friendly to the Navajos as they might be to understand that I am still agent for the Navajos and that I will stay with them when I think they need protection.

Judge Abbott and other court officials have been very fair in this matter, and I believe they will still do the square thing by the Indian.

I had him examined by two physicians who say that his lungs are affected. I believe now that I will within a few days turn him over to the sheriff and let him go to the pen, then at the proper time get up a petition and ask that he be paroled. In the meantime, I have the Indian here in my custody.

Shelton had received word that his father was seriously ill and he had to leave shortly, so he did follow the latter course, and Ch'iishchilín Biye' was taken by the San Juan County sheriff to Santa Fe (230-232).

The other cases had less effect. The Navajo who had owned the calf that Finn had branded as his own died in March (233). The charge was probably dropped. Finn was to be tried in Santa Fe for his assault on Hastiin Neezn Biye' in October. In September, Paul Arrington came out to Chaco Canyon and induced Hastiin Neezn Biye' to accompany him on a horse-buying trip to Moonlight--present-day Oljato in Utah--where John Wetherill had a trading post. When the summons came to appear in court, Neezn Biye' could not be found (234) (235). Finn's trial was finally held in December. He received a suspended jail term and was assessed court costs. The three Navajos still under indictment were tried also and found innocent (236).

One other trial of a different sort was held toward the end of 1912. In November it would appear that a party of men from the Chaco region visited Jemez. Included were Delgadito; Paul Delgadito; Atsidi Neez; Juan Tomás; Taachii'nii Neez; Mescalito; and Bit'ahnii Ts'osi; and two other Navajos, Pah che en Bega and Caballo Blanco, whose home areas have not been ascertained. While there they drank too freely and openly, and word got back to Crownpoint. On December 1, all nine received 5-day sentences for drunkenness; the fact that the Pueblo Bonito Agency had no jurisdiction over events at Jemez was conveniently ignored (237).

END NOTES

1. Stacher to Jones, 4 Jan 1910, PB-109:245.
2. Stacher to Peterson, 4 Jan 1910, PB-109:246.
- 3a. Stacher to Childers, 4 Jan 1910, PB-109:248.
- 3b. Stacher to Boyd and Smith, 4 Jan 1910, PB-109:249.
4. Stacher to Jones, 14 Jan 1910, PB-109:252.
5. Stacher to CIA, 17 Jan 1910, PB-108:255-257.
6. Stacher to CIA, 31 Jan 1910, PB-108:260-263.
7. Stacher to CIA, 8 Feb 1910, PB-108:283.
8. Supt to CIA, 2 Feb 1910, PB-108:271-272.
- 9a. Stacher to Jones, 3 Feb 1910, PB-109:274.
- 9b. Stacher to Jones, 14 Feb 1910, PB-109:286.
- 9c. Stacher to Jones, 4 March 1910, PB-109:309.
10. Stacher to CIA, 5 Feb 1910, PB-108:276-278.
- 11a. Stacher to Domingo, 21 Feb 1910, PB-109:294-295.
- 11b. Stacher to Klock, 2 March 1910, PB-109:304-305.
12. Abbott to Sec of Int, 4 March 1910, BIA, SW Title Plant, 19729-1909-Nav-313.
13. Reference deleted.
14. Stacher to CIA, 21 Feb 1910, PB-108:296-299.
15. Stacher to Leahy, 7 March 1910, PB-109:314.

16. Stacher to Walter, 17 Jan 1910, PB-109:255.
- 17a. Shelton to Walter, 28 Jan 1910, SR-102:226-227.
- 17b. Shelton to Walter, 5 March 1910, SR-102:340.
18. Shelton to Walter, 7 Feb 1910, SR-102:262-264.
19. Shelton to Stacher, 21 Feb 1910, SR-102:282-283.
20. Stacher to Shelton, 28 Feb 1910, PB-109:298.
21. Affidavit of Eleanor L. Quick, 5 Sept 1910, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB, part II.
22. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:194, 198.
23. Ibid.:198.
24. Affidavit of Eleanor L. Quick, 5 Sept 1910, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB, part II.
25. Judd to Dir, 21 May 1923, NA, RG-79, NPS, CC.
26. Supt to Shelton, 28 Feb 1910, PB-109:298-300.
27. Stacher to Leahy, 3 March 1910, PB-109:302-303.
28. Stacher to CIA, 5 March 1910, PB-108:307-308.
29. Stacher to Shelton, 7 March 1910, PB-109:312.
30. Stacher to Hardy, 7 March 1910, PB-109:313.
31. Stacher to Clark, 14 March 1910, PB-109:321.
32. Wiggins to Stacher, n.d., but ca. 14-18 March 1910, PB-109:326.
33. Stacher to CIA, 4 April 1910, PB-108:334-336.
34. Stacher to Wetherill, 28 March 1910, PB-109:327.
35. Stacher to CIA, 29 March 1910, PB-108:330-331.
36. Stacher to CIA, 20 May 1910, PB-108:385.
37. Stacher to CIA, 29 March 1910, PB-108:331.

38. Report of Will M Tipton ---- 18 May 1910, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB, part II.
39. Stacher to Peterson, n.d., but April-May 1910, PB-109:368-369.
40. Report of Will M Tipton ---- 18 May 1910, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB, part II.
41. Stacher to CIA, n.d., but April-May 1910, PB-109:368-369.
42. Stacher to Jones, 5 May 1910, PB-109:393.
43. Stacher to Peterson, n.d., but April-May 1910, PB-109:368-369.
44. Stacher to Shelton, 7 May 1910, PB-109:396-397.
45. Stacher to Ruiz, 4 May 1910, PB-109:381-382.
46. Stacher to CIA, 26 May 1910, PB-108:395-397.
47. Stacher to CIA, 28 May 1910, PB-108:399-402.
48. McNitt 1966:267-268.
49. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:194.
50. Brugge Journal, 23 July 1974:2.
51. McNitt 1966:269.
52. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:196.
53. Brugge Journal, 23 May 1974:2.
54. Morgan Notes, 30 May 1974.
55. Reference deleted.
56. McNitt 1966:5-7.
57. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:196-197.
58. Stacher to CIA, 27 June 1910, PB-108:418-421.
59. Shelton to CIA, 6 July 1910, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB, part II.
60. Marietta Wetherill Interviews, Tape 59, 21 Sept 1953, UNM Library Spec Coll.

61. Brugge Journal, 23 July 1974:1-4.
62. Morgan Notes, 30 May 1974.
63. Stacher to CIA, 27 June 1910, PB-108:420.
64. MacDonald and Arrington 1970:197.
65. McNitt 1966:272-275.
66. McNitt 1966:292.
67. BIA, SW Title Plant, Tract Books, vol 67:74-75.
68. Brugge Field Notes, 23 July 1974:4.
69. Shelton to Burton, 26, Jan 1911, SR-104:136.
- 70a. McNitt 1966:307, 310-312.
- 70b. Stacher to CIA, 4 July 1910, PB-108:439-442.
71. Stacher to Bibo, 5 July 1910, PB-110:4.
72. Shelton to Johnson, 5 July 1910, SR-103:158-159.
73. Shelton to Current, 7 July 1910, SR-102:168.
74. Shelton to Paquette, 25 July 1910, SR-103:227-228.
75. Stacher to Perry, 25 July 1910, PB-110:16.
76. Shelton to Noel, 21 July 1910, SR-103:213.
77. Stacher to Ky-to-ni-to [sic], 22 Aug 1910, PB-110:88.
78. Shelton to Stacher, 24 July 1910, SR-103:221-222.
79. Stacher to Shelton, 25 July 1910, PB-110:17.
80. Reference deleted.
81. Stacher to CIA, 26 July 1910, PB-108:461-462.
82. Stacher to CIA, 17 Aug 1910, PB-108:491.
83. Stacher to CIA, 19 Aug 1910, PB-111:1-2.

84. Shelton to Stacher, 29 July 1910, SR-103:246.
85. Stacher to Paquette, 26 July 1910, PB-110:21.
86. Stacher to Toledo, 31 July 1910, PB-110:32.
87. Stacher to Kent, 27 July 1910, PB-110:22.
88. Stacher to Kent, 29 July 1910, PB-110:29.
89. Stacher to Toledo, 31 July 1910, PB-110:32.
90. Stacher to Kent, 9 Aug 1910, PB-110:47.
91. Stacher to Pinkney, 8 Aug 1910, PB-110:44.
92. Stacher to Johnson, 25 April 1911, PB-110:459.
93. Stacher to Jones, 18 Aug 1910.
94. Stacher to Jones, 9 Sept 1910, PB-110:122.
95. Stacher to Pinkney, 30 Aug 1910, PB-110:99-100.
96. Stacher to Wetherill, 10 Sept 1910, PB-110:121.
97. Stacher to Hardy, 23 Sept 1910, PB-110:148.
98. Pueblo Bonito Court Records, FD-53:1, 8.
99. Maps, PB-110:130-131.
100. Stacher to Leahy, 23 Sept 1910, PB-110:151.
101. Stacher to Wetherill, 29 Sept 1910, PB-110:160-161.
102. Stacher to Pinkney, 10 Oct 1910, PB-110:169-170.
- 103a. Linney 1911.
- 103b. Stacher to CIA, 28 Oct 1910, PB-110:203-204.
104. Stacher to Smith, 10 March 1910, PB-110:223.
105. Stacher to CIA, 21 Nov 1910, PB-111:90-92.
106. Stacher to Bryan, 26 Dec 1910, PB-110:265.

107. Stacher to Bryan, 30 Dec 1910, PB-110:270.
108. Stacher to Cornelius, 3 Dec 1910, PB-110:236.
109. Stacher to Puett, 19 Dec 1910, PB-119:252.
110. Stacher to CIA, 13 Dec 1910, PB-111:115.
111. Stacher to Jones, 19 Dec 1910, PB-110:251.
112. Stacher to Jones, 19 Dec 1910, PB-110:250.
113. Stacher to CIA, Jan 1911, PB-111:125.
114. Stacher to Talle, 6 Jan 1911, PB-110:286.
115. Stacher to Talle, 9 Jan 1911, PB-110:291.
116. Stacher to Talle, 13 Jan 1911, PB-110:301.
117. Correll and Dehiya 1972:26.
118. Stacher to Pinkney, 2 Jan 1911, PB-110:282-283.
119. Stacher to CIA, 9 Jan 1911, PB-111:124.
120. Stacher to Puett, 6 Feb 1911, PB-110:334.
121. Stacher to Weber, 16 Feb 1911, PB-110:350.
122. Stacher to Pinkney, 2 Jan 1911, PB-110:282-283.
123. Stacher to Jones, 23 Feb 1911, PB-110:354.
124. Stacher to Talle, 1 March 1911, PB-110:268.
125. Weber to Hauke, 29 April 1911, in Survey of Conditions ----:
17553-59
126. Stacher to Jones, 29 March 1911, PB-110:412.
127. Stacher to Aragon y Lucero, 4 March 1911, PB-110:369A-70.
128. Stacher to Torres, 7 April 1911, PB-110:428.
129. Stacher to Thompson, 20 April 1911, PB-110:446.
130. Stacher to Thompson, 10 May 1911, PB-112:6.

131. Pinkley to Dir, 14 March 1928, NA, RG-79, NPS, Monuments, CC, part 5.
132. Stacher to Leahy, 28 April 1911, PB-110:467.
133. Stacher to McGaffey, 19 April 1911, PB-110:445.
134. Stacher to Jones, 23 April 1911, PB-110:464.
135. Stacher to Jones, 7 June 1911, PB-112:49.
136. Stacher to VanSchaak & Sons, 29 April 1911, PB-110:470.
137. Stacher to Pinkney, 24 April 1911, PB-110:456.
138. Stacher, to whom it may concern, 22 April 1911, PB-110:453.
139. Stacher to Pinkney, 24 April 1911, PB-110:456.
140. Stacher to Wetherill, 24 April 1911, PB-110:463.
141. Stacher to Blake, 2 May 1911, PB-110:477.
142. Shelton to Blake, 1 May 1911, SR-104:405.
143. Shelton to Stacher, 8 May 1911, SR-104:433.
144. Shelton to Stacher, 10 May 1911, SR-104:448-449.
145. Reference deleted.
146. Stacher to Shelton, 23 May 1911, PB-112:15-16.
147. Stacher to Blake, 24 May 1911, PB-112:18.
148. Shelton to Stacher, 5 May [June] 1911, RS-105:43-44.
149. Stacher to CIA, 22 Aug 1911, PB-111:288-289.
150. Stacher to Pinkney, 31 May 1911, PB-112:30-31.
151. Reference deleted.
152. Stacher to Welsh, 31 Aug 1911, PB-112:170.
153. Stacher to Eldridge, 31 Aug 1911, PB-112:171.
154. Stacher to Jones, 19 June 1911, PB-112:62.

- 155. Stacher to Jones, 12 July 1911, PB-112:104.
- 156. Stacher to Shelton, 26 July 1911, PB-111:265.
- 157. Reagan 1934:237.
- 158. Stacher, Annual Report, 1911, NA, RG-75, BIA, Narrative & Statistical Reports.
- 159. Cohen 1971:220, 229.
- 160. Stacher, Annual Report, 1911:9, NA, RG-75, BIA, Narrative & Statistical Reports.
- 161. Stacher to CIA, 9 May 1911, PB-111:227.
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- 164. Stacher to Johnson, 25 April 1911, PB-110:458-461.
- 165. Stacher, Annual Report, 1911:9, NA, RG-75, BIA, Narrative & Statistical Reports.
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- 167. Ibid.:2-3.
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- 169. Stacher to Ind Off, 2 Sept 1911, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB.
- 170a. Shoemaker to CIA, 16 Sept 1911, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB.
- 170b. Shoemaker to Murphy, 14 Sept 1911, NA, RG-75, BIA, CF, PB.
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- 173. Stacher to CIA, 18 Aug 1911, PB-111:282.
- 174. Calletana, et al, to whom it may concern, 13 Oct 1911, FD-53:unnumbered page.

175. Stacher to Pinkney, n.d., but in Oct 1911, PB-112:259.
176. Stacher to Jones, 26 Oct 1911, PB-112:270.
177. Stacher to Crandall, 27 Oct 1911, PB-112:271.
178. Stacher to Peterson, 29 Oct 1911, PB-112:282.
179. Stacher to Pinkney, n.d., but Oct 1911, PB-112:259.
180. Stacher to Gaines, 29 Nov 1911, PB-112:331.
181. Stacher to Mauk, 9 Sept 1911, PB-112:181.
182. Stacher to Cotton, 29 Oct 1911, PB-112:283.
183. Stacher to Mulholland, 23 Dec 1911, PB-112:375.
184. Stacher to Pinkney, n.d., but Oct 1911, PB-112:259.
185. Shelton to Johnson, 17 Nov 1911, SR-105:472.
186. Stacher to Leahy, 17 Nov 1911, PB-112:313.
187. Stacher to Johnson, 17 Nov 1911, PB-112:312.
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189. Stacher to Shelton, 10 Nov 1911, PB-112:314.
190. Shelton to Stacher, 5 Dec 1911, SR-106:133.
191. Stacher to Shelton, 2 Dec 1911, PB-112:371.
192. Shelton to Stacher, 28 Dec 1911, SR-106:170-171.
193. BIA, SW Title Plant, vol 67-67a.
194. Stacher to CIA, 22 Nov 1911, PB-111:361-362.
195. Shelton to Gillette & Clark, 30 Dec 1911, SR-106:198-199.
196. Stacher to Johnson, 23 Feb 1912, PB-113:4.
197. Stacher to Pierce, 1 May 1912, PB-112.
198. Stacher to Pinkney, 5 Aug 1912, PR-113:443.

199. Stacher to Shelton, 4 Jan 1912, PB-112:403.
200. Stacher to Johnson, 23 Feb 1912, PB-113:5-6.
201. Downs 1964:62-64.
202. Stacher to Jones, 16 Jan 1912, PB-112:418.
203. Stacher to Jones, 7 Mar 1912, PB-113:59.
204. Stacher to CIA, 3 April 1912, PB-111:459-460.
205. Stacher to Jones, 6 May 1912, PB-113:233.
206. Stacher to Jones, 16 Aug 1912, PB-113:466.
207. Stacher to Jones, 28 Aug 1912, PB-113:491.
208. Stacher to Jones, 2 Sept 1912, PB-113:507.
209. Reference deleted.
210. Stacher to Jones, 30 Sept 1912, PB-114:65-66.
211. Survey of Conditions ----:17, 739.
212. Stacher to Armstrong, 13 Jan 1912, PB-112:409.
213. Annual Report, 1912, Pueblo Bonito Ind Agency:7, NA, RG-75, Narrative & Statistical Reports.
214. Stacher to Williams, 22 April 1912, PB-113:201.
215. Stacher to CIA, 16 Jan 1912, PB-111:402.
216. Stacher to the Stockmen and Indian Headmen, 6 March 1912, PB-113:56.
217. Stacher to CIA, 25 April 1912, NA, RG-75, CF, PB.
218. Annual Report, 1912, Pueblo Bonito Ind Agency:4, NA, RG-75, BIA, Narrative & Statistical Reports.
219. Ibid.:1.
220. Hall to Shelton, 4 March 1912, SR-106:476.
221. Annual Report, 1912, Pueblo Bonito Ind Agency:1, NA, RG-75, BIA, Narrative & Statistical Reports.

- 222. Pierson 1956:86.
- 223. Linney 1913.
- 224. Pierson 1956:70, 113.
- 225. Demaray to Judd, 30 March 1928, NA, RG-79, NPS, Monuments, CC, part 5.
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- 227. Shelton to Ellis, 29 June 1912, SR-107:365.
- 228. McNitt 1966:305-306.
- 229. Shelton to Peterson, 2 July 1912, SR-107:368.
- 230. Higham to Abbott, 9 July 1912, SR-107:387.
- 231. Shelton to Clark, 15 Aug 1912, SR-107:488-489.
- 232. McNitt 1966:307.
- 233. Stacher to Johnson, 25 March 1912, PB-113:119.
- 234. Stacher to Abbott, 2 Oct 1912, PB-114:77-78.
- 235. Sept to Safford, 6 Oct 1912, PB-114:95.
- 236. McNitt 1966:292.
- 237. Court Records, FD-53:49.

Chapter 7

HIGH TIDE: 1913-1923

Herbert Gregory's description of the Chaco Plateau probably dates from about 1913. At least some of his statistics are referable to that year. His map suggests that he visited only the western portion of the region. He portrays it as a country with few trees other than pinyon and juniper, but with good range-lands that were still well grassed, small lakes and good wells to supply water, and fertile irrigated fields and gardens. The oil wells at Seven Lakes had not yet become commercially successful, and the coal deposits were yet to be exploited (1).

The Pueblo Bonito agency had a population of 2,685 Navajos, only five of whom were not considered full-bloods, plus a white population of 16 Government employees, 14 traders, and two missionaries. Trachoma was a major health problem, with over half of the people having infected eyes; but tuberculosis was rare, with an infection rate of less than 2 percent. About 300 Navajos spoke English. Only some 400 acres were cultivated, averaging about 2 acres each for the approximately 200 farms, but livestock was the major resource. Holdings included 146,776 sheep and goats; 10,550 cattle; and 10,651 horses and burros. Income from weaving totalled about \$25,000 (2).

Stacher's annual report provides additional details. Considerable construction had been accomplished at Crownpoint, including a stone-masonry boiler house, with rock-work done entirely by Navajos (3). Some boys had been enrolled in the school at Crownpoint, but there were no other schools in the area (4). Signs of progress as viewed by Stacher were (5):

. . . More frequent visits to the Agency physicians, building of houses to replace the hogan, construction of community reservoirs, and desire to improve their stock.

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There are quite a number of returned students who are taking part in a progressive move, many having

secured wagons and are improving their small herds of sheep and making an effort to get ahead

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One hundred wagons have been issued these Indians during the past three years, full value in labor having been required in each instance, another year wire, stoves, sewing machines, and washing machines should be furnished for sale or issue.

In a separate letter, Stacher noted that 20 returned students had through the agency acquired wagons, and bucks to improve their herds (6). When account is taken of the wagons and buggies sold by traders, it seems unlikely that any but a few of the very poorest families remained without access to wheeled vehicles by this time. The effects upon Navajo life during these years must have been most far-reaching, yet they received but little attention in the writings of the period.

Education was increasing more slowly, yet even at Chaco Canyon schooling was involving more families. In this year, Tomacito's oldest son died at the Fort Lewis Indian School (7). In September, Stacher received permission from the Washington office to enroll Francis Padilla, age 21, in the Sherman Institute at Riverside, California (8).

The competition for land continued, but no details are known. Stacher wrote (9):

There has been but little friction between Indians and their white neighbors, though there has been some quarreling over range and water, but for the most part is of minor importance.

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. . . No allotments have been leased to white stockmen, but on the other hand the Indians have six townships of railroad land leased which comprises all (odd) numbered sections in each township. Therefore they control their range in those townships. The cost to them is one to three cents per acre. Some politicians and stockmen would like to dispossess the Indians from their range and have but little use for anything Indian or those who would protect the Indian's interest.

By 1913, the number of trading posts in the Eastern Navajo country had increased to more than 20 (10). The year was dry, and little planting was done (11).

Events in 1914 were for the most part rather routine, to judge from the available documentation. Stacher considered whiskey and medicine men the two greatest barriers to progress (12). However, there are no specific references to drinking in the Chaco region, unless a "disturbance" at Kimbeto in August had alcohol as its inspiration (13). Most sales of liquor took place along the railroad, or at towns such as San Mateo, Cabezón, and Cuba (14), as had been true in former years.

Health was generally good, with some measles and whooping cough (15), and a few cases of typhoid, one of these being a boy named John Wallito who was working for L. Ohlin, the Crownpoint trader. Vaccinations were given for the latter disease (16). Wallito may have come from the Chaco country, judging by his surname.

The field matron positions were eliminated (17), which probably meant that there were no longer any Government employees stationed in Blanco Canyon. Steady progress was being made in expanding the school at Crownpoint, and a significant Navajo addition was made to the school staff--Jacob C. Morgan, as shop teacher and band leader (18)(19).

Rainfall was good during the year--early, so that most families planted later in the summer (20), and harvests and growth of forage plants on the range were also good. Introduced breeding stock this year consisted of 175 Cotswold rams (21). Some of the richer Navajos were buying their own improved bulls, stallions, and rams. They were again able to lease six townships of railroad land (22).

Stacher reported three licensed traders doing business during the year, as well as some 25 unlicensed stores. Competition was brisk, and he thought this prevented any serious dishonesty (23). One of the unlicensed traders was C. F. Spader at Pueblo Bonito, but he apparently ceased business early in the year, since his position of postmaster was discontinued on February 28 (24).

Of particular interest are Stacher's descriptions of two of the men elected headmen for areas north of Crownpoint, for both were men prominent in affairs at Chaco Canyon (26):

Werito Wero, lives north from Agency, 70 miles,
father was progressive chief recently deceased, has

built up a herd of well bred Merino sheep, due chiefly to his father and R. T. F. Simpson Has good horses and good improvements on his allotments. Only son attends school here. He has been chosen headman for his section of country and has a loyal following. Indians in selecting him as their representative man said that he must be the best man for the reason that his father was a great man of influence and fine wisdom and naturally would be their best representative man. States that breeding stock of all classes should be secured as well as farm implements and especially lumber so that better houses could be built.

. . . .

Juan Etcitty, lives 40 miles north from Agency, is the representative from his section. Has been improving his sheep for past three years and is proud of the improvement, by arrangement he secures water from flood water impounded in a lake by a white man and raised vegetables, hay the past year and wants to try alfalfa next year if season is favorable. Has team of American horses purchased at cost to him of \$300. Thinks Indians should have more breeding stock, lumber, wells and farming implements.

Only three other headmen were listed by Stacher in his report, from Mariano Lake, Tse tigai, and Smith Lake (26). It would appear that the headman system, at least as instituted by Stacher, was not functioning too well, although a ratio of one headman for every 540 of Navajo population--assuming that the figures given by Gregory above were not too low--would not be especially bad.

Early in 1915, Epimenio A. Miera is reported to have mortgaged the Wetherill tract to the Interstate Casualty and Guaranty Insurance Company (27). Although Spader closed his trading post at Putnam, he continued to live at, or in, Pueblo Bonito, and was the only white man in the vicinity (28). Precisely how Spader gained his living is not recorded, but the most probable activity would have been raising livestock, either his own or Miera's, as an employee.

The summer of 1915 saw the commencement of a survey of the coal deposits of the region by Clyde Bauer and John Reeside, although just how soon the mapping progressed into the Chaco section is uncertain (29).

Conditions did not change rapidly, in spite of Stacher's enthusiasms. He continued to deplore the presumed "duplicity and ignorance" of the singers, but his failures to obtain support from Washington for the construction of a hospital left him but one recourse (30):

Most of the older Indians believe in witchery and have some great exaggerated (sic) ideas, which seemingly to them often cause death and upon the death of one of their number they lose no time in disposing of the body among the crevices of rock along the side of a mesa, as this system has been in vogue many years. We have endeavored to overcome in a measure this superstition by establishing a cemetery in which to bury their dead, and with the assistance of our missionary an effort has been made to acquaint them with the belief of the white man as to the hereafter. At this time our cemetery contains the bodies of 13 Navajos, some of them have been brought here from a distance that they may be buried in a coffin and according to the white man's ideas.

Another form of cultural change was developing all too fast: the use of whiskey. Stacher believed that most sales took place in neighboring towns such as Gallup and Cabezón, and that most transporting of liquor into Navajo country was accomplished by the Navajos themselves (31).

One special note of pride was sounded with relation to the progress of the school band at Crownpoint (32). The successful band leader was Jacob C. Morgan, an educated young Navajo, whose observations of Stacher's efforts during these years undoubtedly did much to help mold his own political philosophy.

The year was apparently a good one for agriculture, for nearly all of the Navajos planted corn, and many put in other crops as well. A carload of wire delivered to the agency was issued in exchange for labor, and was very much in demand. Herds were doing well. Upgrading continued, with sheep being crossed with Persian and Cotswold rams, cattle with Hereford bulls, and horses with good stallions. Wool sold for a good price--15¢ to 20¢ a pound (33).

Stacher's observations were more perceptive as he gained experience in his position. With regard to trading he noted (34):

. . . As competition is keen . . . every effort is made to secure patronage among Indians, especially

among those well-to-do. A number of traders, in my opinion, have proven a detriment to the interest of the Indians for the reason that Indians who have lots of stock, or other property, are given unlimited credit and encouraged to buy, in some instances, things they do not need, but are given this opportunity to buy as traders know they have the property with which to pay. Then, if they are slow about making settlement, several cases have been taken into court where judgment was secured and the Indians forced to pay the debts which are contracted so easily.

Thus it would appear that the technique of modern traders of credit saturation as a means of controlling their market (35) is not as new a development as is commonly believed.

One major problem continued to be the large number of allotments held for cancellation by the land office in Santa Fe (36). In addition to this strategem, the ranchers had succeeded in placing bureaucratic obstacles in the way of Navajos trying to obtain approval for allotments made on railroad lands, obstacles which led both Father Weber and Henry C. Dodge to write in strong protest (37).

As a national monument, Chaco Canyon was little more than an area entitled to special notice on maps, and sometimes not even that. L. A. Gillett, a mineral inspector, was sent to check up on the ruins. He found no recent disturbances of the sites, but recommended that Spader, who lived at Pueblo Bonito, be given appointment as a caretaker, without salary, to protect them. Only a dozen parties of tourists had visited the area during the year, but an average of one party a day of local travelers passed by over the wagon-road from Gallup to Farmington (38). Gillett noted that Pueblo Pintado was not situated on the half-section set aside to protect it, but rather still upon a Navajo allotment. Survey error did not end with this simple confusion. The allottee, Denethl-Tso, actually made his home on the quarter-section north of his allotment, where he had built a house, hogan, and corral (39). To further compound the issue, it was reported that the section which contained both the ruin and the allotment was railroad land (40).

There was little change in conditions in the checker-board country noted in 1916. Stacher believed the liquor problem to be one that was increasing (41). Economic conditions were good. Although farming appears to have been less productive, due perhaps to limited rains, livestock did well, and the price of wool continued to rise, reaching 20¢ to 25¢ (42).

Stacher's major concern was the land problem. He wrote at length on the subject in his annual report (43):

The General Land Office has reported adversely on a number of allotments which was (sic) made several years ago by Indians living upon the Public Domain, for the reason that some have failed to make improvements and in some cases even abandoned their selections. These Indians all own more or less sheep and have to move about to secure water and feed for them and but very few Indians have fixed homes, that is where they stay the year round. It is quite common, however, for Indians to have several hogans and move from one to the other as it becomes necessary for them to secure new range or with the varying season(.) These allotments which have not as yet been approved was (sic) referred to the General Land Office field force for investigation to see whether the Indians had complied with requirements under the fourth section of the General Allotment Act. Last year when making investigation as to improvements and settlement, I had one of our field men accompany the representative of the Land Office, for with the co-operation of both departments it was possible to clear up matters pertaining to certain allotments by working in conjunction with each other. A number of Indian allotments were made by several allotting (sic) agents on railroad land, the majority of which are still owned by the Santa Fe-Pacific Railroad Company and the New Mexico and Arizona Land Company. However, under the act of March 4, 1913, which was extended by act of April 11, 1916, the Indians can secure title to this land upon which they have made improvements and settlement, and which will be taken up with the individual Indians as soon as other work will permit A number of white stockmen have leased railroad land by the township, and the Indians have been forced to move back as much as possible from these townships, but in others the Indians have themselves (sic) leased railroad land which gives them control of the range for their stock in those townships. There is no question but what the Navajo Reservation should be extended It is doubtful if such a move could ever be carried out with the politicians of New Mexico as they are opposed to giving the Indians any more land in this state . . . , for with the white stockmen in control, it will mean that the Indians will be more and more restricted in the range of their herds

One of the new white stockmen who moved into the Eastern Navajo country in 1916 was I. K. Westbrook (44).

A new strategem was initiated in 1915 to further harass the off-reservation Navajos, that of levying personal property taxes on their livestock. By 1916, these taxes became delinquent, and the issue as to whether, and to what extent, the Navajos might be liable for the taxes was expected to be settled in court. It was recommended that Stacher be advised by the Washington Office as to the actions he could take in the matter (45). The superintendent appealed to the United States attorney in Albuquerque for legal assistance. The attorney failed to find any law that would prevent the taxation, so that Stacher's only recourse was to ask the county treasurer to delay collection until the Navajos could sell their wool (46). However, by wool season it was discovered that the taxes that had been charged were in many cases unjust (47):

As the Office is aware taxes have been levied on the flocks and herds belonging to the Indians. The number of stock listed in very many instances was greatly in excess of what the Indians possessed. The Superintendent is checking the numbers so as to relieve the Indians of paying more than they should. It is interesting to note that some of the Indians resent this, believing that the agency force is aiding the tax collectors.

Both San Juan and McKinley Counties were assessing Navajo property. Stacher found that his only way to help the Navajos who had been subject to excessive assessments was to protest each case individually. He wrote that he did not think the Navajos ready "for this step in civilization" (48).

Reports for 1916 include a few items regarding the Chaco area specifically. R. R. Duncan, special agent for the General Land Office, in reporting on the national monument for the fiscal year, wrote that (50)

. . . Mr. S. F. Stacher . . . is familiar with and takes an interest in the preservation of the ruins. He would report unauthorized attempts at exploration He has erected a fence enclosing about five acres around Casa Morena, which however, has not been completely wired. Mr. Edward Doonan and Elias Armijo, Indian traders at Pueblo Bonito, would probably see and know the object of the visits of all persons passing about Pueblo Bonito and vicinity. They, however, do not attempt any supervision over the Monument.

Duncan also provided an estimate of 100 tourists as visitors to the ruins (50). His Casa Morena was undoubtedly actually Kin Ya'a. It is worth noting that Elias Armijo was not a local Spanish-American trader, but a relative of J. Lorenzo Hubbell, the trader at Ganado, Arizona. It seems most likely that Armijo and Doonan were operating the post for some other owner, probably Miera (51). However, by 1917, Armijo had returned to Ganado (52).

Stacher had established an agency herd to assist in his program to improve the breed of Navajo sheep. The herder was J. Sandoval, Jr., and the sheep were usually grazed in the vicinity of Kimbeto (53).

The year was dry, particularly north of the Chaco, so that most herds were being grazed toward the south. Grass was good in the north, but water for the stock was lacking (54).

Several allotments along the Escavada and on the mesa between the Escavada and the Chaco were found to be on lands patented to the Santa Fe-Pacific railway, and were thus subject to rejection (55). Stacher tried to persuade the railroad to exchange their lands (56), but was unable to do so, because the attorneys for the company objected to the fact that only small scattered tracts were involved and also to the prospect of interminable red tape and delays in such dealings with the Government (57).

In June, E. T. Tucker, who ran a trading post at Dripping Springs (probably the original Pueblo Alto trading post), and Pinkney at Kimbeto reported that Spanish-Americans from Cuba and Cabezón were bringing liquor in to the Navajos (58).

About this time John Arrington is said to have been operating the trading post at Kimbeto (59) (60). However, there is reason to suspect that this date is too late, and that Arrington was at the post considerably earlier, probably prior to 1912 when C. ("Shorty") Widdows began his long tenure as trader there (61). For Arrington in particular, and probably for Widdows as well, an important part of the trade was supplied by Sargent's Spanish-American herders, who charged their purchases to Sargent's account at the post (62).

In September, Stacher held a fair at Crownpoint. Several people from the Chaco area entered, including Chiishch'lin Biye', now released from prison, who took first prizes for a rooster and two hens. Other winners from the north were Mrs. Welo, Werito, Wallito Jesus, and Juan Etsitty (63).

High prices for livestock during the year tempted many people to sell to the extent that the herds were diminished by fall, but some of the larger owners still had overly large herds of ponies in spite of Stacher's urging that they cut down on these animals. Cotswold rams were no longer considered good for crossing with Navajo sheep, and Persian and Rambouillet rams were being used (64). By fall, stock was in good condition, and there was plenty of grass for winter pasturage (65).

The land problem continued to be serious. Early in 1917, a delegation of Navajos was in Washington, D.C., under the leadership of Chee Dodge. It is not known whether any of the Chaco people accompanied this group, but their petition described conditions that were as applicable to the Chaco country as elsewhere among the Eastern Navajos (66):

. . . Cattlemen have entered this former extension in such numbers that it has become impossible for us to make a living. . . . Twenty different persons or companies have leased the rail-road lands of forty-three townships within this former extension; and application to lease six more townships has been made by a cattleman of Gallup a few weekd (sic) ago. With the exception of two or three, all of these do not live on this tract of land, but are absentee-cattle-men or sheep-men, whilst we, between two and three thousand Navajos, are living and always have been living--like our forefathers before us--within this former extension. We Navajos have leased the railroad lands of only five townships, and now, since the price of leases has been doubled, we, with our small herds, cannot afford to renew even these few leases.

In absolute control of half of the land, the alternate railroad sections, with equal rights and assumed superior rights on the unallotted Government land, these lessees are practically confining us to our allottments (sic), which are not sufficient for our support. Neither is there room for us and our herds on the reservation.

Secretary of the Interior Lane asked for a report on the Navajo land situation, particularly with regard to railroad lands, from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Sells, probably as a direct result of the visit by the Navajos. Sells prepared a detailed reply, which traced the complex developments of railroad grants, reservation extensions and deletions, land exchanges,

and allotting programs, and described the Navajo manner of occupying the land and the need for water development. His concluding paragraphs argued strongly in favor of Navajo needs (67):

I fully appreciate the situation confronting the State, encumbered as it is with extensive reservations for Indian, forest and other purposes, yet; I do assert, that the Navajos, with the means at hand, can support themselves on a less number of acres than their white brothers, and should perchance the Indians be removed from their present holdings, either inside the reservation or without, the territory vacated would not support anywhere near an equal number of whites

. . . Their reservation is now over-grazed, with thousands of members who derive a living on and use the public domain adjacent to their reservation. The Navajos are increasing steadily and their need for additional land will increase correspondingly as the years go by

. . . Doubtless the Indians will continue to exist for a few years, at least, just as they have in the past, but as the encroachment of the whites on their ranges increases, just so will the interests of the Indians suffer. Even now, their position is by no means enviable, and any further restriction of their ranges will vitally jeopardize their progress

He ended the letter with a recommendation for further extensions of both the Navajo and Zuni reservations and the acquisition of the railroad lands for the Indians (67).

Paquette, still superintendent at Fort Defiance, wrote in April to support the need for controlling the railroad lands under his jurisdiction, but seems to have considered conditions under the Pueblo Bonito agency similar. He stated that until 2 years previous there had been but limited demand for the land, but that with the increased leasing by the railroads, there was "THE UTMOST NEED FOR SECURING REAL TITLE TO THIS LAND IN ORDER TO PROTECT BOTH INDIANS AND WHITES" (68).

Opposition even to Navajo leasing was developing. When Stacher tried to negotiate a Navajo lease with the New Mexico and Arizona Land Company, he was informed by the president of the company that (69):

I was informed while in that country recently that with reference to these three proposed leases, the Indians intended to pay the first year's rental and decline to take care of the balance when due.

In his annual report, Stacher emphasized the necessity of settling the question of railroad lands (70).

Stacher found different complications when he tried to watch over the use of the allotments. Traders continued to settle on them (71).

. . . In the matter of Esquipola (sic) Gallegos conducting a trading store on the allotment of Es-ske-na-pah, he was given permission by this woman and husband to conduct the store, though it was not of my knowledge, when I was over there and before the arrest of Gallegos, I advised him to move off and he said he would do so, but he was shortly after arrested and is now in jail awaiting trial for introduction of liquor.

Found another Mexican outfit on an allotment at Raton Springs, had them get out on short notice, had small stock of groceries and suspicioned them as selling whiskey to Indians, found no booze about the store but they left promptly.

Es-ske-na-pah's allotment was near the junction of the Escavada and Bit'ahnii Ts'osiwashes (72).

Stacher's strong feelings with regard to the use of alcohol, which made him an advocate of general prohibition (73), were sufficient to prevent him from having any friendly feelings toward the Spanish-Americans, who lacked the Anglo taboos regarding the furnishing of liquor to Indians, and were especially active in this trade. His words in his annual report for 1917 show how thoroughly he linked the two, when he blamed the trade on "Mexicans and bums." In his opinion, one of the great evils resulting from the trade was the decline of the Navajos' herds (74).

Indeed, Stacher thought the Navajos too well off for their own good. Wool sold for as high as 50¢ per pound, and those with sizable herds were prosperous (75). On the other hand, Congress had not been generous with the Indian Service, and Stacher repeatedly cited serious needs due to lack of funds for his agency (76). One of Stacher's few bright spots for the year was the school band (77).

It is not unlikely that it was the steadily rising price of wool, and probably meat as well, that had stimulated the growing influx of white stockmen into the checker-board country. Although the Navajos who owned sufficient stock were able to hold their own and prosper, those who had only small flocks were not only tempted to sell off breeding stock by the high prices offered, but as they lost range to the whites found this the most viable, if in the long run detrimental, alternative.

World War I brought mixed reactions on the part of the Eastern Navajos. In April, Stacher reported a "wave of patriotism," and wanted to organize a Navajo company, wishing to know if the bureau would approve his acceptance of a commission with such a company (78). By June, however, the draft law had caused the Navajos to have second thoughts, and "wild stories" were being circulated that scared the Navajos off (79).

The Bureau of Animal Industry had found infection of dourine among Navajo horses, and eradication was considered important. Stacher's first estimate of the cost of this work was \$5,000 (80). He was allowed \$750 in April (81), but later granted additional funds (82). Several people in the Chaco area lost horses during this program, including Juan Etsitty, Bit'ahnii Ts'osi Biye', Santiago Platero, and John Wero (83).

The coal survey begun in 1915 was completed in 1917. The map produced as a result undoubtedly shows the various trading posts as they existed during these years (84a) (84b). Beyal Begay, a son of Hastiin Biyaal, began learning Nightway from Hastiin Tl'a in October 1917 (85).

A new arrival in the Chaco country late in 1917 was a young white cowboy named Albert Hutton. He found the Pitt ranch already established south of the canyon, and began to work there. By this time, Edward Sargent owned the Chaco trading post, and had a Spanish-American manager running it. Tucker was trading at Pueblo Alto, and Royal Davis was trading at Ojo Alamo. Hutton's memories of these early days correlate well with what little is known from the documented history, although a few discrepancies appear, as when he variously reports that the first time he worked for Pitt was 1917 and 1920 (86) (87).

The summer of 1917 had been so dry that crops were not very successful (88). The dry weather continued, and winter grazing was very poor (89a) (89b).

The price of wool remained high, with growers receiving an advance of 40¢ to 45¢, and final returns were expected to exceed 50¢ (90). However, the drought was so bad that Stacher held no

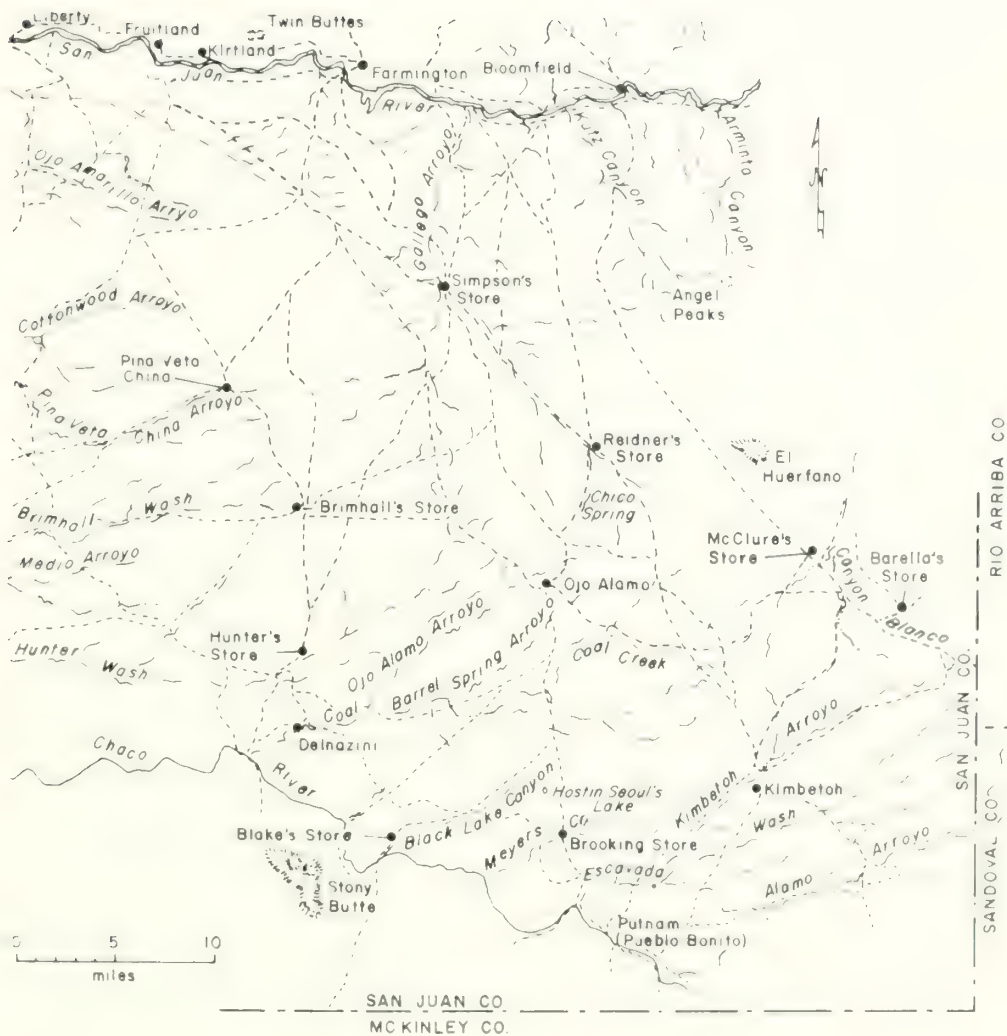


Fig. 2. Bauer and Reeside map of 1921.

fair in 1918. The winter was very severe, resulting in a heavy loss of livestock, especially sheep (91).

The coincidence of the drought and the new aggressiveness of white stockmen made life especially precarious for the Navajos. As Stacher summed up events (92):

. . . The Indians are confronted with a loss of range which they do not own but which they have heretofore used, but nothing has been done that as yet has given them relief, and we cannot surmise just what the Office will do to protect these Indians. The plan to extend the reservation has been blocked. No one in politics seems to care a rap what becomes of the Navajo and is willing to see him crowded out from his little range in the desert where he has been content to plug along, asking no favors except to be given an opportunity to make a living. Where is the law-maker that raises his voice in their behalf?

Under this pressure a new policy emerged, not from the higher levels of administration, but from Crownpoint. It is uncertain whether the credit should go to Stacher or to Horace G. Wilson, supervisor of the Education Division. The first mention of it appears in a report by Wilson, in which he observed that the white stockmen were fencing the Navajos out of places that the latter needed to water their stock. He suggested that holdings be consolidated by exchanging with the railroad the even-numbered section in one township for the odd-numbered sections in another (93). Stacher made the same suggestion in a letter dated only 3 days later, asking that an effort be made to block Navajo lands into contiguous tracts of Indian and railroad holdings (94). No reply to Stacher's letter by the commissioner has been found, and it may well be that the communication never got beyond some clerk in the Washington office who misjudged it as something not worth passing on. Regardless of decisions, or lack of them, in the Nation's capital, Stacher had an idea that would guide not only his own actions for a longer time than he would have contemplated with favor, but also those of his successors for a greater period than he could have foreseen. The result was to be a slow, difficult, and tedious process, but a viable one, which, given the Navajo determination to persist on the land, became a compromise that led ultimately to Navajo success.

Stacher viewed the problem in more immediate terms. Later in the month, he described how checker-boarding prevented the Navajos from fencing large tracts, and how the crowding by the whites had rendered seasonal movements to summer and winter

range impossible for most Navajos (95). Wilson's report did reach higher levels of administration, and Stacher's comments were requested. Stacher agreed with all that Wilson had to say except his contention that there was a great deal of scabies infection among Navajo sheep. Stacher contended that the infection was rare in Navajo herds, but that one white owner, Fred Mattison, had a band of sheep that was badly infected. Dipping would be accomplished as soon as the condition of the herds and weather permitted (96).

The fact that Wilson repeated an allegation regarding disease among Navajo herds that was frequently voiced by white stockmen as an excuse to drive the Navajos onto the reservation and that was also consistently denied by the various Navajo agents raises serious questions about his inspection, the most pertinent here being the degree to which he might have relied upon white ranchers for information. It is conceivable that the idea for segregating the Indian and white holdings in the checker-board came from the Navajos' opponents rather than from either Stacher or Wilson. Certainly the outcome of such a policy was far from clear at the time, and both the agency employees at Crownpoint and the white ranchers may have thought they perceived advantages in it. As the story of the implementation of this idea will show, the Navajos were not entirely convinced of the desirability of any compromise on the land issue. Neither they nor Stacher could predict what the long-term result would be. The immediate effects would include a necessity for some Navajos to abandon lands they were using formerly, or at least abandon their claims to such lands from which they had only recently been evicted.

A more immediate reaction on the part of the Navajos was undoubtedly a strongly increased resentment of whites in general and ranchers in particular, which was manifested most clearly, if somewhat indirectly, in attacks on two traders.

The first incident seems to have been the result of excessive drinking, with little overt indication that there might be any connection between the growing white expansion into Navajo territory and the killing, for there is no evidence that either the owner of the trading post or the clerk had any involvement in the livestock business. The store was owned by E. F. Tucker, at a place called Dripping Springs (97), not far from Pueblo Pintado. Tucker was away at the time, and had left an 18-year-old, Pat Smith, in charge of the place. Two young Navajos, Louis Chavez and Augustine, had been drinking, and apparently on impulse, as the result of an argument, killed Smith. A "medicine dance," undoubtedly an Enemyway, was held about 12 miles west the night of the killing, July 17, and the killers had been

on their way there with their families when they decided to visit the trading post. They were arrested the next morning at the ceremony (98). At the time of the killing, the trading post was burned. Tucker promptly rebuilt it, but died within the year, and his widow sold it to Sargent. Sargent hired Lester Setzer to run the store (99).

The second incident is far more enigmatic, but there is a strong possibility that range disputes were involved. The shooting took place at the Chaco trading post. The owner of the post at the time was Edward Sargent (100a)(100b). Another factor may have been the flu epidemic of 1918, which one author links in a rather mystical manner with both eruptions of violence (101). However, the flu was definitely too late to have been a motive in the Pat Smith killing, and may well have not reached the Navajo country until after the shooting at Pueblo Bonito. The Farmington newspaper did not report flu among the Navajos until October 24, but by then the disease had already caused eight deaths at Shiprock (102). Even so, the incident in Chaco Canyon took place on the night of September 29 (103). Whether or not the epidemic had reached the Chaco region in September is uncertain, but had it done so, it might well have been thought a part of the whites' efforts to drive the Navajos from the land. However a lapse of nearly a month between the time of the shooting and the first reported Navajo deaths certainly makes this explanation appear improbable.

The shooting was not merely an impulsive action brought on by a sudden disagreement. Stacher's description of the event is detailed (104):

He (Ed Doonan) was sitting in a chair reading a newspaper between eight and nine o'clock The door of his sitting room was open and the screen door was closed. When someone called him by his Navajo name three times before Mr. Doonan got up and went to the door. A shot was fired . . . through Mr. Doonan's right side, the ball passing out below the shoulder blade and hitting against the wall. He stepped back and four more shots were fired at him through the window. His daughter blew out the light though a second shot had taken effect through the left side and another through the upper part of his right arm. Mr. Doonan managed to get his six-shooter which was hanging on the wall and fired two shots through the window into the darkness but did not see anyone to shoot at. Whoever did this deed used a 25-20 rifle with Winchester ammunition with solid head bullets--not soft nose. A messenger was sent to the

agency The sheriff was notified and Dr. Childers and myself went to the scene Mr. Doonan was given medical attention by the agency physician and an effort made to secure a clew to the person who did the shooting. There were a number of tracks about the store and road but it was impossible to determine the tracks of the fellow who did the shooting.

A medicine dance was in progress about eight miles from Mr. Doonan's store and I went over to this gathering with policemen to watch several parties whom Mr. Doonan suspected. No information was given out as to this shooting except to the one Indian police, for I thought it probable that someone might begin to talk to the Indians about what had happened and thereby secure a clew . . . but nothing was learned whatever. The several Indians whom (sic) were suspected of doing the shooting were taken in hand on Tuesday morning by four Indian police and the Deputy Sheriff, and brought to Pueblo Bonito.

We were unable to secure any clew . . . as yet it still remains a mystery. Deputy Special Officer Holgate of the Liquor Suppression has detailed two men to further investigate and they are now at Pueblo Bonito.

At this meeting of the Indians there was no indication of whiskey, which is somewhat unusual.

Mr. Doonan has been in the trading business for more than 30 years and has had no serious trouble with any of the Indians and no motive is known I have warned the Indians that this is a very serious crime . . . and if such crimes be allowed to continue I fear that some of these cowboys will take things into their own hands

The ceremony taking place at the time was a Nightway or Ye'i Bichei, according to John Arrington (105), who had by then replaced Pinkney at Kimbeto (106a) (106b). Had the flu already become severe at Chaco, it would appear unlikely that a major ceremony would be underway. According to Navajo custom, a death in the community would be cause to stop any ceremony then in progress, while the devastation that the flu is said to have caused would certainly have prevented any large gathering. Arrington, however, maintains that the flu was already raging (107).

According to Arrington, Doonan was a widower, whose wife had been Spanish-American. Doonan's daughter and her baby, and his son were with him in the Chaco country, but the son was farther up the wash working at a cow camp (108). Just who was running cattle in the area at the time is not known, but most probably the son was also employed by Sargent, and the cowboys to whom Stacher referred in his report included Sargent's men.

Arrington claims that he finally obtained the lead in the case that led to arrests when the wife of Tomás Padilla accused Clyde Beyal and his younger brother of committing the crime. However, their trial resulted in a hung jury, and the case was never fully resolved (109a) (109b). One curious fact is that Stacher mentioned neither incident in his annual report for fiscal year 1919, but included them in his 1920 annual report, as if they had taken place in calendar year 1919 (110).

Regardless of the exact date, it can be stated with certainty that the flu epidemic did strike the Eastern Navajo country in the fall of 1918. The earliest report, as mentioned above, is for Shiprock, where there had been eight deaths by October 24; another death was reported near the Farmington mission. Many sick Navajos were returning from work on the Silverton highway, bringing the infection with them, and undoubtedly spreading it widely and rapidly (111). By November 7, most of the sick in the Farmington area were beginning to recover (112), but a week later the disease was reported still spreading in the Carrizo Mountain region, where there were many deaths (113). By November 28, after a ban on public meetings had been lifted in Farmington, D. H. Hunter stated that the disease had about run its course in the vicinity of his trading post west of Shiprock, yet "farther out" mortality continued (114).

According to Stacher's annual report, the epidemic in his jurisdiction occurred during the months of October and November. He estimated that at least half of the Navajos on the public domain were struck by the flu, and that mortality had reached about 500 (115).

Whether or not the epidemic might have been blamed on the whites by some Navajos is quite uncertain, but it did result in accusations of witchcraft among the people themselves. Stacher's description of one such case, which probably took place near Crownpoint rather than in the Chaco area, nonetheless gives insight into the trauma caused by the epidemic (116):

Once during the flue (sic) a medicine man was doctoring the family of Mose Gibson, three children

died in quick succession and Most (sic) threatened to kill this man . . . believing that he caused the death of each member, the policeman brought him in and Mose as well, we spent most of one night trying to persuade Mose that Jose was not a witch and that he had not killed his children. He said that Jose had been doing things that a Navajo Medicine man should not do, that he sang songs that belonged to other tribes and not Navajo songs in his Medicine chant, and that he seen him sneaking along the rocks near a Mesa where the lightning had hit . . . and that they seen hime (sic) going about with a Coyote skin over him acting like a witch

Stacher's account raises the interesting possibility that the stress of the epidemic, perhaps in conjunction with that of increased white encroachment, had led to religious innovation or experimentation at this early a date. However, if so, the effort had been regarded as mere witchcraft by most Navajos and did not find any significant acceptance in the community at large.

Certainly the land conflicts were being strongly felt by the Navajos. In asking that assistance be given for leasing railroad lands, Stacher summed up the situation as follows (117):

. . . In these strenuous times, with no market for horses and few cattle and sheep to sell, and with the necessities of life unusually high, the leasing of land and paying of taxes is working a hardship on a number of Indians and (they) need this protection.

However, Navajo enterprise was varied, and equal to most normal situations. Tom Chischilly-begay began development of an extensive irrigation system below Kin Bineola, having learned how to do this from Juan Etsitty, who had created a similar system below Juan's Lake. Etsitty had built the dam at Juan's Lake, but Chischilly-begay had to rely on diversion of run-off for his own system (118).

Some Navajos also worked for the agency at Kimbeto. A report in November identifies the herder as Pancia, and lambers and shearers as Florencia, Comanche Kid, Juan Chicito (sic), Jim Lope, Frank Chavez, Jim Comanche, and John Lung (119), while Arrington mentions Comanche as an agency policeman at the time of the Doonan shooting (120). A pinyon crop in 1918 was all that allowed the agency to avoid having to issue emergency supplies (121a) (121b).

In spite of a precarious existence, the Navajos responded well to the needs of the Nation during the war. Two young men enlisted in the Service, one of whom served in France, and the other at sea with the Navy; those who could bought liberty bonds and war savings stamps; and fleeces were contributed for the Red Cross (122). The war ended in November (123).

Although the records are quite confused as to exact ownership of section 13 immediately south of Pueblo Bonito, it is thought to have remained in Miera's ownership until 1919, when his estate lost it in a mortgage foreclosure to the Southern Surety Company (124).

The year 1919 began with poor prospects. The war and the flu were over, but the latter had caused great mortality among the Eastern Navajos, economic conditions were poor, and the weather unfavorable (125):

. . . We have had one of the dryest years, practically no rain last summer or fall and the range at the present time is in very poor condition, with practically no moisture this winter, and with the best of care and attention, we will no doubt have some losses among the ewes which are thin in flesh. All of the sheep in this part of the country are below normal in flesh, however, the winter so far has been mild and very little snow

However, before February was over, even the mild temperatures were gone, and according to one report, the winter was the coldest in over 40 years (126). By spring, the Navajo herds were thin and weak, having suffered from severe weather, lack of good range, and scab. Stacher estimated a loss of 15,000 sheep out of an original total of 90,000 head (127). The combination of drought and cold had also caused losses of horses and cattle. During the winter, the price of hay had soared to \$50 a ton, and oats to 5¢ a pound. Neither were available at any price as conditions reached their worst, and the Navajos could not afford to provide feed for their stock (128).

The price of wool continued high. The average Navajo sheep would produce about 2 pounds of wool, while the Rambouillet crosses yielded about 4 pounds (129). The straight Navajo wool brought 25¢ to 33¢ per pound, and wool from the improved sheep up to 45¢ (130). Wage-work was easy to obtain: in June, Navajos were working for the sawmill at McGaffey; on the railroad; at the Fort Wingate ordnance depot; and even in the railroad roundhouse shops in Gallup (131).

The hard winter weather had brought deep snows (132), which undoubtedly left the soil well-watered in the springtime, for there was sufficient planting that the summer rains could bring to maturity a fair crop of corn, vegetables, and even some hay. A few Navajos harvested enough corn to sell a surplus for 3¢ to 5¢ a pound, but most was used at home. By 1919, Navajo farmers in the region were using plows regularly, and many also had harrows or small cultivators. Fields were fenced as well as possible (133).

Some Navajos were finally receiving patents for their allotments. Welo's patent to the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 4, T21N, R11W, was issued on May 29 (134). Others were still trying to obtain approved allotment claims. Jake Edway, with the assistance of John Arrington at Kimbeto, made application for a certificate to prove that he was Indian and entitled to an allotment (135). Hosteen Cly (probably Hastiin Tł'a, "Left-handed Man") found that the application of both his wife and son had to be resubmitted (136). De-Nethl-Tso (or Feliz), who lived near Pueblo Pintado, found his allotment had been cancelled (137), and it was later decided that his son did not even qualify for an allotment (138). Somehow, in the process of including the ruins in the national monument, the Indians' needs had been forgotten.

The bureaucratic entanglements encountered by Navajos in applying for allotments were undoubtedly often the result of a greater sympathy on the part of the "register and receiver" in Santa Fe for the whites than for the Indians, but instructions from the General Land Office in Washington, D.C., did set policy that should have made it easy for Navajos to qualify for their land. In August, the land office in Santa Fe was advised that an allottee had 2 years to make settlement on his tract, and that mere "use of their land for grazing their flocks or herds, where said use has continued for two years or more, is held to constitute compliance" (139).

More-direct efforts to dislodge Navajos were taken by Fred Howard and Thomas Tallay (probably Talle), a few miles south and east of Seven Lakes, where Navajo hogans and houses were destroyed (140).

By the end of fiscal year 1919, much to Stacher's satisfaction, general prohibition was in effect in New Mexico, and there was a decrease in the use of whiskey among the Navajos. He noted that none of the people of the region were accustomed to making their own intoxicants (141).

Reports do not indicate an unusual winter in 1919-1920, but the spring of 1920 was far from conducive to agriculture. Cold, cutworms, and prairie-dogs caused so much damage that some fields had to be planted twice, or even three times (142).

Conflicts on the range continued to increase to such a degree that Stacher complained in his annual report that (143):

Our main trouble in the past year had been disputes over the range upon the public domain with the whites and Mexican stockmen and at best we can only say that the checkerboard area thruout the land grant area is anything but satisfactory

Sargent retained his hold on the Chaco region by leasing some of the former Wetherill interests; his major use of the area was for sheep-grazing (144). An A. M. Edwards of Santa Fe was trying to exert his influence with the Secretary of the Interior to get leases of Government land in the area made in favor of J. H. McCamant, then sheriff of McKinley County--the latter even offering to fence the ruins and to act as custodian of them without salary if he could get the leases (145-147). Sargent's influence was apparently stronger, for he seems to have relinquished none of his control to others. Neil Judd, on his reconnaissance trip to Chaco Canyon that year, observed his outpost at Pueblo Bonito (148):

During the initial phase of our reconnaissance Jack Martin and I stopped several times . . . at the old Richard Wetherill well--a dug well with windmill in the arroyo at the Chaco crossing What water could be drawn by rope and bucket was under the watchful eye of Ed Doonan, a barrel-chested Irishman employed by Edward Sargent of Chama N. M. . . . Mr. Sargent, who ran seven flocks of sheep in and bordering Chaco Canyon, and his six Mexican herders were supplied by Doonan. Doonan, in turn, had been wounded by a Navajo a year or two before we arrived, and he held a strong antipathy to all members of the tribe. So far as I could observe, his days were spent mostly in the sunshine on his doorstep, guarded by a large anti-Navajo dog.

Judd noted that Sargent was leasing the old Wetherill headquarters from Mrs. H. B. Sammons of Farmington, and that he ran about 60,000 sheep in the neighborhood that winter (149). His Spanish-American herders were using up all the available wood in the country for their campfires, stripping the great ruins of even the small sticks used for lintels (150).

Whether or not Judd's figures of seven flocks, or 60,000 sheep, are possible to reconcile, it is apparent that the Chama sheepman had large numbers of animals grazing the range of the Chaco region, probably far beyond its carrying capacity even if there had been no Navajo herds on the same land.

In spring, it was found that there was no market for wool. Stacher advised the women to save the wool and use it for weaving, because the price of blankets was still good (151) (152). Due to the setbacks on the land and the depressed economic conditions, the Eastern Navajos were experiencing difficulties, although just how serious these were is not easy to judge. Stacher's description does not seem to indicate severe suffering (153):

The Indians are feeling the sting of High Cost of Living but he is learning (sic) economy (sic) and buying fewer luxuries such as high priced saddles The low purchasing power of the dollar has taught him to be somewhat more conservative with what he has and we have made this an object lesson for him to increase the size of his corn and potato patch but from present indications his harvest will be only a partial crop as dry weather prevails over the open country

Stacher may have minimized the effects of the conditions, because he saw them as having the advantages of imposing more frugal ways upon his charges. In any case, the fact that there was some deprivation throughout Navajo country as a result of the low price of wool and scanty harvests seems well established.

It was under these conditions that an event in the early summer caused a major, but quite temporary, upset in the pace of Navajo life. The degree to which economic deprivation might have influenced Navajo thinking in the matter, and the degree, if any, of anti-white feeling implicit in Navajo actions have become subjects of importance for the understanding of Navajo history (154). A Navajo singer, probably Naakai Jaan, "Mexican John" (155), was struck by lightning during a storm. He was unconscious for 4 days, and upon reviving told of a vision which predicted that on a certain day there would be two suns at dawn and then a flood which would destroy everything except those Navajos who fled to the higher mountains beyond the reach of the waters (156). The story spread rapidly throughout Navajo country, carried according to one report by runners sent by the singer, and the day of disaster was set for Saturday, July 3 (157).

There were a few doubters, but most Navajos accepted the prediction as truth, and fled to the higher elevations. Some took time to herd their animals to safety, but others abandoned even their sheep. One woman took time to try to make a large purchase of bacon and flour on credit from a post in the Winslow area so as to preserve some of the white man's groceries. In most cases the Navajos deliberately did not inform the whites of the expected danger (158-160), but whether or not the revelation itself had an overt anti-white bias has not been established (161). Hewett, in his first season's work at Chetro Ketl, observed the movement at Chaco Canyon (162):

. . . We witnessed a pell-mell exodus, not permanent, however, of Navaho. Warned by an old medicine man, that on the third day of July, 1920, a great deluge would destroy all the white people and all Indians who remained in the desert, they packed up, bag and baggage, and broke for the western mountains. Horses and sheep were driven headlong, many cattle were left behind, crops abandoned at considerable loss. As the great catastrophe did not come off according to schedule we witnessed them drifting back, rather sheepishly, for some weeks.

Many Navajos fled eastward into the mountains within Santa Fe National Forest, thereby causing fear of an uprising at Cuba, because the Navajos did not divulge their object in moving into the mountains. Stacher was able to learn the reasons for their flight, and to reassure the whites (163).

Whether or not the flood scare had been an expression of nativistic proclivities, the Navajos were still far from the hopeless states that seem generally to motivate movements of that sort. Not only did they still possess sufficient material wealth to at least sustain their culture, but also access to political channels that gave promise of better things. That fall, Chee Dodge became the spokesman for the people on the public domain. His first letter to the commissioner describing their plight was relatively concise, but it detailed conditions that Stacher did not mention (165):

I wish to call your attention to the conditions on the Pueblo Bonito jurisdiction.

Etsitty Nez, one of the headmen of that jurisdiction came to see me a few days ago. He complained that a number of white stockmen are making a good deal of trouble for the Navajos on the public domain. They are making every effort to drive the Indians

from their allotments and they have driven some families from their homes. I fear that there will be serious trouble between the Navajos and the white men if some protection is not given these people. I have been informed that some of the Indians are now in Santa Fe to consult with the general land office and to interview the Governor for protection.

Dodge asked that an investigator be sent to help protect Navajo rights to their allotments (165).

In response to this complaint, two inspectors, H. S. Traylor and D. G. Lonergan, were sent to the checker-board country. On October 25, they met with several hundred Navajos at Crownpoint, following which they went to see conditions on the ground, accompanied by allotting agent Simington. In the Chaco region they found evidence of the Navajos' losses.

In T19N, R11W, there were two allotments, but S. Pitt had fenced the entire township, and there were neither Indians nor improvements to be seen. Pitt had also fenced the township immediately to the north, T20N, R11W, and excluded all Indians, although three Navajos--Hostan-i-yozhie (Asdzaani Yazhi, "Little Woman"), Elte-pablo, and Hostan-Tsosee (Asdzaan Ts'osi, "Slim Woman")--had already received trust patents to their land there.

A bit to the east, conditions were somewhat better. Regarding T20N, R10W, they wrote (167):

This township is all fenced, with the exception of natural barriers, by Smith Brothers, of Crown Point (sic), New Mexico. Seven homesteads are found, Sections 6, 8, 4, 12, 20, 26 and 28. The allottees live in this township and use the grass and water without restrictions from the Smith Brothers.

The situation in T20N, R9W, was similar to that in R10W, at least in the six sections leased by the Smiths. The two inspectors appear to have not ventured much farther north from Crownpoint (167).

Not long after the visit of the inspectors, Dodge again wrote the commissioner to counter the assertion made by white ranchers that the Navajos on the public domain had just recently left the reservation to deprive the whites of the neighboring lands. After reviewing the history of the region, he described recent conditions in the following terms (169):

...Since the Department of Interior gave way to the concerted efforts of the whites and promised them to open the reservation . . . white stockmen leased the railroad lands and entered this country in ever increasing numbers even before the reservation was opened in 1911. Since that time conditions have continually gone from bad to worse, so that now they (the Navajos) are on the road to pauperism and their condition has become intolerable. . . . Now their range is being ruined, their stock depleted, and they are being driven from their homes.

Dodge concluded by urging that the reservation be extended again over the checker-board area--the only thing that he felt would solve the problem (169).

Economic conditions showed no great improvement through the year. Crops produced an indifferent yield (170). One innovation that would be significant was the introduction of angora goats among the Navajos at about this time (171). The price of Navajo weaving remained high, probably throughout the year, especially for the better-quality products. One 7- by 10-foot blanket sold for \$400, a record for the checker-board country (172).

One event that apparently took place considerably earlier was reported by Stacher in 1920 (173):

. . . Stockmens Protective organization was perfected several years ago with about 60 Navajo members, and thru the efforts of the members undesirable breeding animals have been eliminated by castration. They have purchased good bulls and now they have many hereford young cattle.

The full significance of the Stockmens Protective Organization does not become apparent until the following year, when a letter from Stacher reveals that the McKinley County Live Stock Protective Association had (174)

. . . over 80 members, 70 per cent being Navajo Indians. Several thieves was (sic) sent to the penitentiary and others skipped out and at present there has been but little theft of stock. One case is pending.

Stock buyers particularly cattle often mention that the best steers they get from Indians are from this section of the country and due to organized

effort in securing good breeding stock and the elimination of scrub bulls,

Thus it is apparent that Stacher's cautious and conciliatory approach to the white ranchers was having some benefits. The bi-racial stock-growers' association had some very measurable effects in the control of rustling and upgrading of cattle. However, the crucial test of his policies was in land use. His claims of success were still challenged by the Navajos. In March, he wrote the commissioner in defense of his policies, stating that in all complaints of fencing that had been brought to his attention he had been able to work out compromises. He asserted that the whites, through their leases of railroad and school lands, controlled over half the region, and had developed water which the Navajos needed. Few allotments could be used by the Navajos, even if not fenced, because of a lack of water (175).

Some of the Indians mutually agreed to the fencing in of their allotments for use of water or for cash money paid them and it is common for them to lease reservoirs to white men or Mexicans when they have water in them particularly through the winter months.

. . . .

The white stockmen understand perfectly that unless the Indians are given a square deal on the range and water . . . they will have to take down their fences.

Therefore, Stacher felt that amicable solutions should be sought, and efforts to take the matter to court avoided, so that the land exchanges that he hoped might ultimately resolve the entire question could be arranged without the bitterness that increased conflict would generate (175).

Dodge, however, did not accept these arguments, and accused Stacher of allowing the present situation to develop by his silence through the years and by his failure to assist the Navajos with their troubles (176). Stacher replied by writing Dodge directly, asserting that he would assist any Navajo who came to him, and noting that the Navajos were highly dependent on water developed by the white ranchers, particularly during the current drought (177). Stacher was becoming increasingly aware of the political pressures developing to divest the Navajos of the land (178).

By the end of the fiscal year, in spite of the passage of an act that would authorize the consolidation of separate Navajo

and white areas in the checker-board (179), Stacher's assessment of conditions was far from optimistic (180):

Range troubles continue to be critical and unless something is done by the Department to remedy the condition and secure the Indians range to them in such manner as to permit of their having control and complete use of what they need, the Public Domain Navaho will be reduced to a most wretched state. He has been forced to divide up the range he once used until there is but little chance for him to increase his herds. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to block up the checkerboard land in such a way as to permit of the stockmen both Indian and white to protect himself. Now he must shift for himself, his allotments of 160 acres have no value unless he is fortunate enough to have water thereon for his stock but otherwise he must depend on the other fellow and trespass is the result with much hard feeling on the part of all concerned

Stacher noted that there was opposition on the part of both state and county taxpayers to allowing the Navajos any additional land, and advised the department to take a strong stand on the issue (180).

Drought and depression continued into the summer. The price of wool remained low, the market for Navajo rugs had collapsed, and there were few jobs to be had (181).

A welcome exception to this generally poor economic picture was provided by Judd's arrival at Chaco Canyon to begin his excavations in Pueblo Bonito. He began work in May 1921 with a crew of Indians--some local Navajos and some Zunis (182). The Navajos responded quickly to this opportunity to find employment close to home, and during the month, 10 Navajos worked for varying periods on the job, some as laborers at \$2.25 per day, and some with their teams at \$5 per day. However, only Monte Lope worked regularly (183). There were fewer Navajos on the payroll for June, but those few worked more days. Again Monte Lope was the only Navajo on full time. Beginning on the 6th, Ed Doonan was hired to work regularly with his team. All the Navajos worked only as laborers (184).

Hewett was also conducting excavations at Chaco that year, working just up the canyon at Chetro Ketl. The two archeologists considered each other rivals--or at least Hewett so viewed Judd, and he wrote the National Park Service to complain about Judd in various regards. One complaint concerned his use of Zunis as

well as Navajos. Arno B. Cammerer, then acting director, wrote to Frank Pinkley, custodian of Casa Grande ruins, to ask him to investigate the Hewett complaints, including an assertion that (185)

. . . the placing of any other class of Indians (other than Navajos), particularly Zuni, will inevitably lead to conflict and murder; that, in fact, during the past year or two several Navajos have been murdered.

Pinkley's investigation revealed that Hewett's charges were unfounded, and that, on the contrary, the Navajos and Zunis worked well together, both on the excavations at Pueblo Bonito and at a sawmill in the Zuni Mountains. Pinkley's visit gave him the opportunity to meet an old friend, Ed Doonan, who had been living in the Chaco region for some 35 years (186). At the end of the season, Judd could report harmonious relations between the two tribal groups during his entire stay at Chaco (187).

The Navajos were probably eager for work. By July, there were eight Navajos employed, six of whom were working full time. In addition to Monte Lope, these included Tomas Padilla, Dan Cly, Rafael Atencio, Fat Lope, and Welito Wero (188). Much the same crew worked through August, but Frank Lope, who had started work in July, filled the place left by Padilla (189). The Navajos had put in 463 man-days in all, and it is probable that they also earned some income at Hewett's excavations.

Events of the summer included a false report of a typhus epidemic at Kimbeto, which turned out to be no more than two cases of measles (190), and a completely unsuccessful attempt by an itinerant preacher to induce either Indians or archeologists to attend Sunday services at the old trading post, which Doonan had vacated earlier in the year. The Navajos were busy breaking horses that day, while the whites and Zunis probably found plenty of camp chores to keep themselves occupied. The would-be missionary left on Monday without bidding them farewell (191).

By the end of summer the drought had broken, and there had been unusually heavy rain (192). In September the range was in good shape, and the outlook for the stock through the winter was good (193).

The Navajos made other efforts to obtain income during the summer. In August, Clyde Beyer was approached by two white men, B. P. Ervein and a companion, who had two pack horses loaded with camp-gear and whiskey. Neither spoke Navajo, and they wanted Beyer to go with them as interpreter in peddling their beverage, which was put up in pop bottles and similar containers.

A pop bottle of whiskey was to be sold for \$5, and a quart for \$10. Although free in dispensing samples, they made no sales, for the Navajos had little cash (194).

Fall brought a good pinyon crop, and many families moved to highland areas around Mount Taylor and in the reservation mountains to harvest the nuts, making the rounding up of school-children difficult (195). The nuts sold for 10¢ a pound, and over 100 carloads were shipped (196).

The Chaco region remained one of the firmest strongholds of Navajo land use, at least during part of the summer, when Sargent's sheep were not present. Glenn R. Haste resurveyed four townships in the Chaco area that year. His field notes indicate only Navajo settlement. In T21N, R10W, in which he worked in June and September, he recorded that (197):

The only water in the township is in two wells. One well is dug by Indian settler at the edge of the Escarvada Wash in Sec. 1 and the other well is drilled into the sands of the Arroyo Chaco in Sec. 20. The Navajo Indian is the only settler.

He did work in T21N, R11W, in August and September. According to his notes (198):

Water is found in a small artificial lake in sec. 33, and two wells are drilled at the edge of the arroyo bed in sec. 12. Navajo Indians living in sections 4 and 5 obtain water by digging a few feet into the sandy bed of the arroyo.

During the same months he also surveyed in T21N, R12W, writing that (199):

. . . Good forage crops of corn are raised by Indians in the wide draws in the years of abundant (sic) rain fall.

In September, he worked in T20N, R8W, in the Pueblo Pintado area. There he observed (200):

The only water is from small artificial lakes made by the Indians in secs. 1 and 4,

It is likely that Haste missed seeing many hogans built where he did not have to run lines, and in addition, his partial surveys did not take him into many sections of the townships. While he does not seem to have gone out of the way to find

Navajos in the four townships, he was quite diligent in recording those whom he did see, and even ascribed to them the status of settler. It is significant that most of the water development that he noted had been done by the Navajos. The Chaco region was still largely beyond the areas fenced off by the white ranchers. Only to the south and southwest had claims been firmly established by whites, largely through the leasing of railroad lands. A map sent by Stacher to the commissioner in May showed T20N, R10W, as still held by the Smiths; T20N, R11W, and the two townships to the south as the Pitt Ranch; T20N, R12W, and the township immediately to the south as the Chadwick Ranch; and to the west, in T20N, R13W, the Westbrook Ranch. Talle had the Seven Lakes township and those to the north and south (201).

The Milk Lake township, T19N, R13W, is not shown as part of any ranch in May (202). However, by October the Chadwick Company was attempting to dispossess Navajo allottees there, and Stacher thought it best to exchange lands in that township with the railway, so as to have a more secure claim in other townships (203).

Charges of violence caused by cowboys were again circulating in the Eastern Navajo country, as they had in years past, including accusations that they were threatening children and the elderly, taking Indian cattle, destroying Navajo hogans and fences, and excluding Navajo stock from the waterholes (204). Stacher's writings seem to differentiate between local stock-raisers, whom he felt he could trust and with whom he tried to work out compromises, and those who were merely out to take all the land possible from the Navajos. When writing of the latter, his opinions were much closer to those expressed by Chee Dodge. The developments of 1921 led him, that December, to pen a letter that echoed Dodge's feelings quite eloquently. He observed that even though Congress had appropriated \$100,000 to lease and purchase lands for the Navajos in especially critical areas, political pressures from the cattlemen had prevented any purchases. Now Congress was considering a bill that would authorize the leasing of Government land at 1¢ per acre, and give preference to local cattlemen. This would give the whites control of both the railroad lands and the public domain, and leave nothing but the allotments for the Indians. Some 4,000 Navajos would be reduced to starvation in New Mexico, as well as additional thousands in Arizona. Stacher's patience was being sorely tried (205):

. . . It is time to rise in defense of these Indians and not permit the passage of the Sinnett Bill unless the three above counties are excluded from this bill until such time as this land is consolidated and the Indians made secure in their right Fully

90 per cent of these Public Domain Navajos never have lived on the reservation and have no rights there

For every white stockman in this contested country the rights of over 100 Indians are at stake. Is it right then to let the whitemen have this country just because they are asking for it and trying in every way to get it, regardless of what the Indians may say.

This matter should not be allowed to drag along as it has for the past 10 years

I do not want to be an alarmist but if nothing is done and knowing the situation as I do first hand there may be an uprising of the Indians and this will mean that some Indians and whites are going to get killed.

He commented on the support that the Sinnett bill had in New Mexico. The Navajos were losing more range each year, and the foundations of the work his agency was accomplishing with them were also being destroyed (205).

Events in the Milk Lake township, just on the edge of the Chaco region, provide a near-classic case of the manner in which the Navajos were losing ground. With additional complaints from the residents of the land, Stacher had altered his proposals, and regarded the township one in which Navajo lands should be consolidated. His recommendations were in reaction to a newly aggressive policy by the whites (206):

Last week the Chadwick Company who run about 4,000 head of sheep through their resident agent T. V. Matteson gave notice to the Indians who were allotted upon several railroad sections of this township that they must get off and get out. This outfit recently brought in about 1500 head more sheep and of course will drive the Indians off (so) that they may secure the Indians' range.

The Indians affected have appealed to me and it certainly is pathetic indeed that I am powerless to prevent these greedy white men from driving the Indians away from their homes where they have always lived

The Chadwick Company have no improvements whatever in this township but as about half of Milk Lake is

on a railroad section they will drive them out and get the benefit of the work which the Indians have done in building this dam

. . . I have had to fight for their rights here and am not very popular with the white stockmen and in the past in nearly every temporary adjustment we have lost range

I must say that several times I have had to do my best to hold the Indians to peace and keep them from driving some of these whitemen out

He recommended that the Government buy some 18 sections of railroad lands in this township to settle the matter (206). About 2 weeks later, he reported that the Navajo dam was on section 8, but the inlet to the lake and about three quarters of its area lay on section 17, a railroad section. Chadwick threatened to build a dam along the section line, thereby cutting the Navajos entirely off from the water. However, he was willing to make a deal with the Government, and told Stacher that in exchange for the drilling of a well on section 14 he would restrict his claim to the eastern half of the township and let the Navajos have the western half (207). However, Chadwick insisted that the Government drill the well for him in time for lambing season, which began April 1 (208). Charles Chadwick himself also wrote a letter describing the negotiations. This he sent to an administrative assistant of the Secretary of the Interior, Charles Safford, whom he addressed as "Charlie" (209):

We have agreed to a compromise

While we have no desire to give up any range and especially water which controls the range, still we are willing to make a considerable concession in order to eliminate this continual trouble with the Indians.

With regard to Stacher's proposal that the railroad sections be purchased, the commissioner wrote that the railway was unwilling to sell unless it retained the mineral rights, while the Government could not buy unless it received full right to the land. However, the Washington office was ready to give full support to Stacher in backing whatever rights the Navajos might have on the land, including going to court if necessary, and the Chadwick Company's employees were to be warned of this fact (210). About a week later, Stacher also received word that there were no funds available to drill the well for Chadwick (211).

By March, all hopes of a compromise seem to have been lost. Chadwick was writing complaints to Washington, accusing the Navajos of (212)

. . . eating off our grass and drinking up our water, infesting our range with scabies and stealing our sheep as systematically and consistently as it is possible

That situations of this sort did not lead to open war on the range was probably due almost entirely to Stacher's influence. A part of his ability to restrain passions probably rested on his confidence that a consolidation of white and Navajo areas would ultimately be possible, and on his ability to convince his Navajo charges that a reasonable compromise could be accomplished. An important facet of his control of the situation was the system of headmen that he had established. In his report of 1922, Stacher discussed in some detail the developments in his headman organization. He had (213)

. . . found most of these men eager to accomplish, and (they) seem proud of the position to which they have been appointed. A Commission is given him with his photograph in glassed frame for hanging up in his home and if for any reason he is not faithful to the trust imposed his Commission is taken away from him. So far but 2 men have been relieved. I am urging that returned students who show good judgement and training be appointed (by election) to the position of head man it is hoped that in time these young men will be the real leaders of the Navajo Tribe and will lead them away from superstitious practices. Further I am arranging to place a photo of each head man in a large frame in the Office as a mark of service and this has elicited more than passing interest.

The report continues to describe the case of one headman removed from office for stealing another man's wife. The conflicting objectives of Stacher's programs must have placed these men in very difficult situations at times, but it was the land problem that caused overt resistance (213):

De not so (probably Dineh Tsoh, "Big Navajo") a headman who wished the Superintendent removed caused some stir among his neighbors but . . . since the visit of Commissioner (of Indian Affairs) Burke he came in and said that he understood better what the Department was trying to do to help the range situation and

expressed himself that he would (act) more in accord with the Superintendent in the future . . . ,

Conditions in 1922 reflected a little improvement, The price of wool was up as high as 20¢ to 32¢ a pound for those Navajos who graded it before selling, and blankets also brought a better price (214).

Judd returned to Pueblo Bonito in May. He did not hire as many Navajos as he had hired in 1921, but those whom he did put on were kept working more regularly. Dan Cly and Rafael Atencio were on the payroll nearly all summer. Joe Chee, Wellito Wero, and Roy Natanipah worked somewhat shorter periods. Total Navajo man-days during the season were only 322 (215). This was the year that Judd began to use mining trams on rails to haul out his back-dirt (216). In spite of the availability of wage-work in the canyon, a Judd map for 1922 shows only three occupied Navajo hogans within the canyon proper, all on the south side. One--significantly--belonged to Rafael; the other two, even farther to the west, were probably owned by the Weros (217). Perhaps some of the Chaco Navajos found work at the sawmills and on railroad construction to the south, where over 180 Eastern Navajos were working at the beginning of July, and another 100 positions were soon to be available. The railway company found the Navajos to be superior workers, but too easily satisfied with their first pay, and not willing to continue working for more money than they found an immediate use for (218).

Dourine eradication, begun in 1917, was continuing. Stacher was allowed \$657 to expend on the program in 1922 (219). The evasion of horse-reduction losses by selling independently was a successful strategem for the Chaco Navajos, who found a ready market for their ponies among the Zuni laborers on Judd's crew. The latter seem to have purchased so many that they had little cash left to take home at the end of the season (220).

Stacher's headman system suffered another setback in July, when Willetto was convicted of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. He was sentenced to 30 days of labor, lost his commission, and was not to be eligible for re-election for a year (221). (Willetto, the headman, was obviously a different person than Willetto Wero, for the latter, under the spelling of "Willito Wello," was on Judd's payroll from July 12 through the end of August) (222).

Between May and November, rainfall averaged less than 2 inches, and by fall the grass was so grazed off that there was

no reserve left for winter pasturage. This shortage was brought about not only the lack of moisture, but also by the usurping by whites of range previously used by the Navajos (223). Crops were naturally a failure, and there was no pinyon crop (224).

Perhaps the major event of the year was the purchase for the Tribe of the deeded land in five townships from the Chaco Land and Cattle Company (225). Although this purchase was not in the immediate Chaco region, it marked a first step in a reversal of trends in landownership, and the first significant exchange of land from white to Navajo control in the checker-board country. The price paid was obviously quite fair to the sellers, for by January of 1923, Stacher found most white ranchers willing to sell (226). The drought conditions were undoubtedly a factor, but there was no more money available at the time, and the one sale fell far short of starting a rapid Navajo recovery of lost ground.

It was in January 1923 that Herbert J. Hagerman was appointed to oversee the affairs of the Navajo Tribe as a whole, and a Tribal council was projected to allow dealing on a Tribal-wide basis. The primary impetus for this change, which brought all six agencies under a single man, was the desire of business interests to lease land for oil exploration (227), but Hagerman soon found that the Tribe had many other problems to be faced.

One of the greatest of these was the land situation beyond the reservation boundaries. Within 2 months, he had reported with some detail on the matter (228):

I am told that Mr. Tom Tully (sic), Mr. Sidney Pitt, Mr. Theodore Chadwick and Mr. F. V. Matteson, and Ed Sargent and one or two others are the main men within the area Some are getting along perfectly allright (sic) with the Indians and some are not.

New Mexican interests, as stated by Senator Andrieus A. Jones, centered around the loss of taxable land if it were to be given to the Indians. Jones thought a study of the entire question was called for (229). Hagerman was so busy organizing the first Tribal council that little was done at first, although he did make use of the need for additional lands in framing the arguments he designed to persuade the council that it should make oil leases (230).

On the range, the Navajos were not finding life easy. Grass had grown little during the preceding season, and there were losses of stock during the winter and spring (231). Wage-work

was an important supplement to income from traditional sources, for there was no pinyon crop, and the price of blankets had declined, but in the spring wool brought 20¢ to 30¢ per pound (232). At least one Navajo from the Chaco country--Joe Chee, or Agapito Bega--whose wife and baby daughter lived on the Escavada, went off to work on the railroad tracks (233).

By May, some spring rains had started the grass, at least to the north of the canyon (234). In addition, Judd's crew was back. Even with his Zuni workers, he hired a number of Navajos. In May, only Rafael Atencio, Dan Cly, Willeto Wero, Tomacito, and Hoskey-Yazi (probably Haashke Yazhi, "Little Warrior") were at work; but by the end of June, the Navajo work-force had doubled, with Agapito Bega being among them probably preferring work closer to home when it was available. In July, others also were signed on, so that even with Tomacito not working beyond the 3rd of the month, there were 11 Tribesmen employed by the 31st. One of these was Nelson Etsitty. Judd began to cut back in August, or perhaps some Navajo workers quit, and by the beginning of September there were only eight. Of these, only four, including the steadfast trio--Atencio, Cly, and Wero--were with him to the end of the season (235).

An event that was remembered long after was the death of old Padilla's daughter. Described as "a well educated young woman," whose husband, Nelson Etsitty, also spoke good English, she left two young daughters who spoke only English. Padilla wanted her to receive burial in the white man's way, and Judd helped with the funeral in the old Wetherill cemetery. Etsitty at first left the two children with his wife's parents, in conformance with traditional Navajo ways, but their lack of knowledge of Navajo made for difficulties there, and he later took them to the mission at Farmington (236a) (236b). In view of the paucity of data on the progress of education among the Chaco people, the circumstances described indicate that acculturative influences were stronger than might be expected in so remote a locality. For at least one family, the break with the past had been so thorough as to prevent communication between grandparents and grandchildren.

In the spring of 1923, Mrs. Sammons, who had come into possession of the old Wetherill buildings, leased them to a man named Griffin, and they were being rennovated for his occupancy in May (237). Gus Griffin soon brought his family to the canyon: a wife, two stepdaughters, a daughter, and a son (238). Although Griffin's widow later remembered the year of their move to Chaco Canyon as 1921 (239), contemporary documentation clearly places it in 1923. Griffin, like Wetherill before him, had large ambitions, but lacked the financial backing that the Hydes had

supplied for the earlier enterprise. According to one National Park Service report, Griffin was willing to serve as custodian for the ruins, but he had more expansive plans as well (240):

. . . Mr. Griffin was in the cattle and sheep business and suffered some heavy reverses in the slump which followed the war. They plan to build up the trading business, branch out into sheep, establish a post office at Bonito, and, when the tourist traffic demands it, establish a camp ground and motel

By November, Griffin had been appointed custodian of the ruins (241).

Mrs. Griffin was the daughter of Warren E. Rollins, the well-known artist. Her father moved to Chaco Canyon from Santa Fe following the death of her mother (242).

The early part of the growing season was quite dry, but late in the summer, unusually heavy rains damaged the Wetherill buildings, Tom Chischilly-begay's irrigation development below Kin Bineola, and the road across the mouth of Weritos Rincon, thereby interfering with the delivery of provisions for Judd's crew (243-247).

The purchase of range-land had produced new kinds of boundary problems for Stacher. In July he wrote (248):

. . . During the past year the Office purchased what is known as the Chaco Land and Cattle Company ranch and secured between eleven and twelve thousand acres of deeded land nearly all under fence In the deal also a number of wells were turned over to us . . . and in this way we have eliminated considerable range trouble. Recently for temporary relief meetings were held with Tom Tally (sic), cattleman and representative of the Fernandez Cattle Company to consider the construction of a drift fence between their range and that under the control of these Companies and the Indians indicate their desire to cooperate . . . as all interests are mutual. The Indians stock would be prevented from drifting off and trespassing stock would be kept out of our range This plan of getting together is only a temporary remedy . . . and the Office should not lose (sic) sight of the necessity of protecting these Indians

Stacher even suggested that a suit taken to a court of law might be the way to establish the Navajos' rights to the land (248).

The annual influx of herds for winter grazing was still a regular pattern. Judd considered as a threat to the ruins (249)

. . . minor destruction by sheep and goats. This section is a favorite wintering ground for several large herds; herders frequently seek the shelter of the ruins and their animals, playing over the walls, loosening the stones. Three sheep fell into our excavations and were killed last winter

He felt that only the fencing of each ruin could prevent further such deterioration (249).

In the meantime, Hagerman had had an opportunity to investigate the land situation. He found a great deal of the land either firmly under the control of whites or vigorously claimed by them. Tom Talle and R. C. Lilly controlled six townships, a solid block in ranges 9 and 10 west from T17N to T19N. Pitt had four townships, extending from T18N, R11W, through T20N, R11W, and including R12W, T19N. Chadwick had three townships, T20N, R12W; T20N, R13W; and T19N, R13W. He also "more-or-less" made a claim to T21N, R12W; T21N, R13W; T21N, R13W; and T22N, R12W. Westbrook had a similar tenuous hold on T18N, R13W (250). However, Hagerman had ascertained that these cattlemen were deeply in debt to the banks, and he felt that this should make negotiations with them easier (251). Further checking revealed that the Smith brothers of Crownpoint had the lease on the railroad lands in T20N, R10W; and that Sargent had all the railroad lands in San Juan County under lease. It also brought to his attention reports of Indian allottees being fenced off their lands, Navajos being "beaten up and otherwise mistreated," and some instances of the arrest of Navajos without warrants. He believed that some solution was needed if bloodshed were to be avoided (252).

Early in October, Hagerman held a meeting in Santa Fe, which included most of the white stockmen interested in the checker-board region. He hoped to get an agreement that would make possible the land exchanges that would permit a consolidation of the Navajo holdings. Sargent, S. A. Hughes, and certain banks and financial backers were not represented, but those present were having financial problems and would be glad to eliminate the complications of competing with the Navajos on the range (253). Later talks with Hughes were discouraging, for he was trying to sell his land, had a potential buyer, and had no

interest in any entangled dealings with the Government (254). However, most of the stockmen preferred to sell out to the Government, if an appropriation could be secured for that purpose (255). Political opposition to Hagerman's plans developed rapidly, with the Aztec Commercial Club, Governor James F. Hinkle, Senator Jones, and a Mr. McGee, editor of an Albuquerque paper, all protesting the withdrawal of lands from the tax rolls (256-258).

Sargent attempted to secure his seasonal range by paying Navajos rental for water sources on their allotments. About 1923, he first began to rent a spring and two lakes on allotments owned by the Victor Pena family in Cottonwood Canyon (259). However, it is most probable that he had already begun this system earlier with other Navajo families.

In December, Stacher compiled a list of white homesteads. Most of those in the Chaco area were abandoned, had been taken by the Gallup State Bank, or had no improvements, although the I. K. Westbrook and George Coy claims would appear to have been established and held successfully (260). Hagerman made a trip over the country between Crownpoint and Pueblo Bonito early in the month, and noted ranch headquarters used by Chadwick, Presley, Pitt, Ferris, and Talley (Talle) in the area. He observed that (261)

. . . the white men have taken better care of their range than the Indians, but it is certainly true that the acquisition of these areas and the permission for the Indians to graze on the Chaco Canyon Monument area would add tremendously to the grazing resources of the Navajoes. Should the extension be made, I will strongly recommend (that) Mr. Stacher . . . carry on a grazing program under a system of range control.

Whether Sargent's herders were excluding Navajo stock from the canyon at this time or Hagerman is merely mistaken is uncertain. Judd implies that Navajo herders were in the monument (262), but his observations were made largely--if not entirely--in summer, while Hagerman visited Chaco in late fall. It may be that the Navajos had moved their stock to their winter camps on Chacra Mesa.

The winter was so hard that several of the white stockmen left the country (263). White expansion into the region had reached its greatest extent, and began to withdraw, but only very slightly. The Navajos had some supporters, but their ability to effect change was limited. If any felt great optimism, they were destined to experience considerable impatience and disappointment.

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Chapter 8

STALEMATE: 1924-1932

The winter of 1923-1924 was a hard one for the Navajos and the white stockmen. At Chaco, the snow was so deep that Griffin could not get out to mail a report on the ruins until early February--and he had not left the canyon for 2 months (1).

An account of the winter as experienced by the Navajos in the Newcomb area is probably generally applicable to conditions in the Chaco region as well. The snows continued throughout February, and Navajo losses of livestock were high. Some families brought their weaker sheep into the hogans, and restored to supplemental feeding with corn--at first with their own stores of grain, and when these were exhausted, what they could get from the trading posts. Spring and thawing left the soil well moistened, and the range grass grew luxuriantly, but there were far fewer sheep to graze on it (2). However, the lamb crop was good: the price of wool was 25¢ per pound, and lambs were worth 8¢ to 10¢ per pound--a price considered good at the time (3).

In 1924, it became apparent that opposition to expansion of Navajo lands east of the reservation was in large part due to the efforts of white sheep-growers (4). Hagerman soon discovered that these were the same men who were using the Navajos' range for their winter grazing. He attended a meeting with Stacher and Navajo leaders from throughout the checker-board country at Thoreau in February, in which the situation was discussed at length (5). A number of petitions to the President were composed, which show well how the Navajos viewed their position.

One petition, signed or thumbprinted by several people from the Chaco region, including Monte Lope, Chee Willetto, Louise Lope, Mescalito, Welo, Nelson Etsitty, Pioche and his wife, John Beyal, and perhaps others, such as Platero and Chischilly, whose names are not sufficiently distinctive to ensure identification, placed some emphasis on the nature of the Navajos' rights to the land as they saw them. First and last was an appeal to the sacred mountain, Huerfano, "as the central point of Navajo civilization," and to Santa Fe Moun-

tain, Mount Taylor, the San Francisco Peaks, and the La Plata Mountains at the four directions. These petitioners asserted that they had kept the treaty of 1868, that over 200 of their number had served in the Apache campaigns, and that their contributions to the winning of World War I had included the donation of wool and service in the armed forces, during which one Navajo was killed in France (6).

Regarding the sheepmen, they stated (7):

. . . The sheep men get our range free and of course don't want to give up a good thing. They don't live here in the summer but move back in the mountains but always come in the winter. They don't respect our allotments and our rights and we cannot get along on the same range. The same can be said for the cattlemen.

Another petition complained specifically about the conflict at Seven Lakes. There the whites had fenced the Navajos off from the water, and driven their stock through Navajo herds, thereby getting Navajo animals mixed in with their own, and refusing to return them. Whites had also threatened Navajos, and in some cases shot at them, although none had been killed or injured as yet (8).

As stated by a third group (9):

. . . A few sheep men don't want us to have any more reservation and want us to move on the reservation but we do not belong there Don't you think the rights of 3700 Indians is (sic) greater than a half a dozen sheep men who come in from Chama and Albuquerque and eat up our grass? In the winter time they don't even live here, but we have no other place to go.

Hagerman, in defending his efforts to have an extension bill passed, listed in considerable detail the sources of opposition. The most powerful of these was the man who had taken over the Chaco country as his winter range (10):

First, because the Mexicans and Spanish-Americans who comprise a large portion of the people of the state and are therefore politically powerful, all hate the Indians, and would be glad if all Indians could be exterminated.

Second, because many non-Mexicans in the state, especially sheep men, feel approximately the same way about the Indians. They look upon them as a nuisance.

Third, because Mr. Ed Sargent, an influential and rich sheep man from Rio Arriba county, not far from the proposed extension, and a few other sheep men, drive large numbers of their sheep into and near to the area of the proposed extension between November and April, to eat off the free grass while their summer ranges are being enriched and revived with winter snows. Mr. Sargent is a fine man whom I like very much, and as long as he can put this over he naturally will. He has just been elected National Committeeman here.

Fourth, because on the whole the Indian Office is not popular in this state and anything it proposes is generally received with doubt and disfavor.

In addition, he explained, the arguments state officials used to arouse public opposition to the extension included the question of the state's mineral rights on school sections; mineral royalties from Executive order reservations; the claim that the Federal Government had failed to develop the existing reservation to its full capacity for both livestock and farms; the perennial question of dipping Navajo sheep; and an accusation that the spreading trachoma and tuberculosis infections among the Navajos were a result of unsanitary conditions in the Indian schools, and posed a threat to public health (10). Hagerman's praise of Sargent was obviously no more than a hypocritical but politically necessary recognition of the man's prominence, although there can be no doubt that he had known him on a more friendly basis during his earlier involvement in state politics. He probably did not realize until quite late in the game how completely contrary to Sargent's claims his own proposal was. The combination of arguments against the Navajos led to defeat in Congress of a bill that would have given them the land they wanted (11).

As spring came and Sargent's herders and sheep left for the long drive back to the Chama, the Navajos and archeologists returned to the canyon. Judd brought a larger crew of Zunis than usual--over 20 came from that pueblo to work for most of the summer. Navajo employees numbered about half as many. The first three hired were again Atencio, Cly, and Wero, all of whom worked through August. Only Cly did not continue into early September. Most of the Navajos were paid the

standard \$2.25 a day, but one, Edward Henry, received an additional \$1 per week, for some unexplained reason (12). A Navajo girl named Mary, who was working for the Griffins that summer, married one of the young Zuni workers, Natchaponi, and returned with him to his home that fall (13).

Either the summer was unusually dry, or Judd was merely writing of the usual dry early part of the season. The latter case seems more likely, but his description of water sharing tells something about the kind of relations he had with the Navajos while at Pueblo Bontio (14):

When our Navajo neighbors came in with lard buckets, canvas bags, and even barrels to complain that their water holes were dry, we shared our meager supply (from the well) with them and agreed that the whole country had been drying up ever since the white men arrived. When they returned later with their goatherds and horses, we clamped on the lid and told them to dig their own wells deeper.

While activity probably never reached the high level that had prevailed during the days of the Hyde Exploring Expedition, Judd noted that (15):

When the gods smiled and work progressed as we wished, thirty-five or more Indians, ten white men, and eight or nine horses were busy in the ruins. During four months out of the year our camp was the seventh largest settlement in San Juan County

Firewood had to be hauled 20 miles (16). Griffin was busy trying to develop what he considered the local potential, improving the road from the north in hopes of attracting more tourist visitation (17).

Judd's duties as a white man in Navajo country included letter-writing. In June, Wirito Wello (Willeto Wero), who was working on the crew, asked him to write to Stacher to complain that a Mr. Stiles was running cattle and digging a well on land which had been Wero's since he was a boy. Stiles maintained that he was on section 36--school land that he had leased from the state. The land was near the mouth of the Escavada, and south of Tomacito's allotment. According to Wero, a cattleman named Choc Lewis had trespassed on the land 2 years earlier and Stacher had moved him out, and he wanted

the same done with Stiles (18). The description of the land would fit section 36 in T22N, R11W, roughly between the north boundary of the national monument and the Escavada wash. This would represent white intrusion into an area along the Escavada where the Navajos had thus far held their own fairly well.

Stacher replied that if Stiles were on the school section, there was little that he could do to prevent his occupancy, aside from advising the Navajos to fence their allotments to prevent trespass. He noted that he could not take credit for evicting Lewis, who had suffered financial reverses and moved out when the bank pressed him too hard. Stacher was unable to go to investigate personally, having made arrangements to attend to business at Tucker's store and Torreon, but he would send John Tyler to get more definite details (19). Further correspondence on the matter has not turned up.

Late in the summer the rains did come--too hard again--washing out a part of Tom Chischilly-begay's irrigated crops (20). Another event of some interest was Padilla's stopping at Judd's camp on August 27, apparently before the rains had begun, to talk about the old days. Among other details recorded as a result, it was noted that Dan Cly had developed and was using the spring in "Rincon del Camino," present-day Clys Canyon (21).

Griffin continued his duties as cutodian into the fall, writing to ask whether he could remove a Wetherill structure built against Pueblo del Arroyo (22); to accuse unnamed Navajos of taking building stone from Pueblo Pintado (23); and to discuss the need for and possible location of a proposed bridge over the Chaco River (24).

The weather was cold and snowy during the early part of 1925, and business was slow at the Chaco store. Griffin spent some time traveling to buy sheep on contract (25).

A renewed threat to Navajo land use developed in Congress in the form of another bill to authorize the leasing of public domain. Stacher read the bill, and came to the conclusion that it had been introduced by partisans of the New Mexico cattlemen to enable them to be legally entitled to fence public domain as well as railroad lands, thereby making it still easier to exclude the Navajos. He noted that the Navajos and the Government together were able to lease the railroad sections of only eight townships. This cost about \$288 per year for each

township, and if an equal amount were required for the public-domain sections in these townships, they would not be able to continue. Stacher saw little hope unless the bill could be defeated (26):

. . . To me it seems that it is just a scheme of the cattle men to get away from the necessity of having to take down the fences and the time for taking down the fences has been extended until March 1st or until it can be seen what becomes of the bill

Of course, the best solution and the greatest benefit to be derived by the Navajo Indians on the public domain would be the extension of the reservation and the buying out of the cattle and sheep men's interests though this was opposed by the Sheep Growers' Organization At this writing, there is . . . 75,000 sheep grazing over the country, much of which the Indians actually need for their own stock, and who do not pay a cent for grazing . . . and who do not pay taxes on this stock as they are out of the county before April 1st.

To lease all the public domain which is located near the allotments of Indians would require quite a sum of money . . . and if he (the Navajo) would not lease Government land on which he ranged, I suppose he would be classed as a trespasser and be liable for damages or ejection from certain sections.

The bill apparently failed to pass, but the basic concept was to appear in a new guise in the next decade, with a similar threat.

Stacher addressed himself to two other problems in February. One, no doubt a subject of concern for some time, not only reveals policy over an extended period, but implies that Stacher's knowledge of Navajo customs still contained many important blindspots. In describing the presumed effects of Navajo housing on health, he wrote (27):

The fire is always built on the floor in the middle of the hogan, with no opening in the center or dome of the roof for ventilation and passage of smoke from the hogan

I have urged the Indians to build stone and log houses depending on the material at hand, and quite a number of houses have been built with windows and fireplaces therein

It is hard to believe that Stacher was unaware, after his many years among the Navajos, of the smoke-hole in hogans. Perhaps the passage was drafted by a clerk, and the error not caught by Stacher when he signed the completed document. However, his policy of encouraging the construction of houses was long-standing, and it may not be amiss to conclude that in spite of a lack of emphasis on this matter in official reports during preceding years, the same policy had been continuously in effect since described as a major objective by agents writing many years earlier. It is probable that the few more affluent Navajos who could afford the luxury of a house as a status symbol, and young educated couples such as Nelson Etsitty and his wife had been among those who had built houses during the intervening years, but there is evidence to indicate that house-building did decline somewhat during the period between the wars.

Trust between Navajos and whites remained limited. On February 10, at Torreon, two white men--Lacy M. Bird, a local homesteader, and Ed Blatchford--acting in the capacity of constables, tried to arrest San Juan Toledo, a Navajo man. Neither of the whites spoke Navajo, and neither knew enough Spanish to enable them to explain to Toledo what they were doing. The result was a shooting, in which Toledo lost his lower jaw. He was rushed to Albuquerque, where emergency medical treatment saved his life, and by about the beginning of June he had recovered and was able to return to his home (28a) (28b). Word of events such as this would spread rapidly throughout the Eastern Navajo country, often perhaps with exaggerations, and the incident may be presumed to have been known in the neighboring Chaco region and to have influenced the attitudes of the people there. As Stacher summed up the affair (29):

. . . These men were acquitted but a little tact on their part and there would not have been any trouble whatever.

In spite of the steady development of school facilities at Crownpoint, the number of potential students far exceeded the spaces available. Recruiting was still being done for more distant schools such as that at Ignacio. In March, Stacher went with a party of recruiters to seek children for

that school in the northern part of his jurisdiction--probably in the Chaco area (30). However, the efforts of the Indian Service were not fully appreciated when children in grades below the sixth were sent off to these remote schools, and Stacher himself seems to have been opposed to the policy Washington had set. He noted in his annual report that the Navajos were "secretly" collecting donations in order to send a delegation to Washington to protest (31).

The proposed delegation probably had other complaints to make as well. A. W. Simington had been appointed as special allotting agent in 1918 or 1919 to complete the allotment work in the Navajo country. He was removed from the position, effective June 30, 1925, in spite of the strong objections of Navajos and their supporters (32a-32d).

Apparently, the winter had not been especially hard. In early spring, Griffin reported that roads were in good condition and that damage to Pueblo Bonito by frost, snow, or rain was limited. He had begun rather extensive changes of the old Hyde-Wetherill buildings, having razed "the old black sheet iron building" behind his house, and was contemplating a change in the location of the store (33).

It is uncertain whether Griffin's own projects provided employment for Chaco Navajos, but the National Park Service began its first stabilization work in April. Griffin had \$1,300 to spend on repairs to Pueblo Bonito, and hired three white stone masons and seven Navajos for the job. The work continued through May (34a), and included cement capping of kiva walls (34b). It gave some of the local Navajos experience working with professional masons that they could later put to good use.

Judd returned in May, and soon had up to six Navajos employed. Edward Henry, Fat Lope, and Roy Newton were the first to sign on. The old reliable trio of Wello, Atencio, and Cly did not join him until about mid-month, and it seems likely that they had been employed on the stabilization crew up until that time. The Zuni workers did not arrive until June, but by the end of the month there were only 14 Zunis on the payroll, and 10 Navajos. The ratio of 14 Zuni workers to 10 Navajos remained constant until early September, when all but four of the Zunis left. The Navajos were gradually laid off as the work drew to a close for the season, with four working into the early part of October (35).

Judd's research was not limited to the ruins, and he had Oscar B. Walsh prepare some very informative maps of Navajo

farms in the canyon. Rafael had three corn patches: two in Rafaels Rincon, and the third, a much larger field, just below the mouth of the rincon. Dan Cly had two fields, both near the head of Clys Canyon, then called Rincon del Camino. Chischilly-begay's elaborate irrigation system in the Lake Valley area was also mapped. However, his efforts to prevent arroyo-cutting required such heavy labor that he did not anticipate being able to maintain his fields for more than another 5 years or so. A major washout occurred during the summer. Chischilly-begay's seed had originally included a white-corn variety from Santo Domingo Pueblo, which had hybridized sufficiently with his own Navajo varieties through the years that by 1925 he considered his white corn "pure Navajo" (36). At an earlier date, Judd had described the introduced corn as "American," probably meaning Anglo-American in origin (37). Photographs taken for Judd by O. C. Havens show that Chischilly-begay had a good growth of corn and a plentiful harvest of pumpkins and squashes (38).

Wool sold for 25¢ a pound, and lambs brought 8¢ to 11¢ (39).

It appears that the year was a prosperous one, probably even more so for the people of Chaco Canyon than for those who lived elsewhere. When autumn brought a large pinyon crop, the people moved to Mount Taylor, and perhaps other highland areas, where a mild winter allowed them to spend several months engaged in the harvest. The nuts sold for 15¢ to 20¢ a pound, and some families were able to earn as much as \$100 a week by sweeping up the litter under the trees and winnowing and screening to recover the nuts. A good deal of the money earned was invested in capital equipment, including sheep, some 100 to 125 wagons, and a few automobiles. The production of Navajo blankets declined as a result of prosperity and the demands of other work (40) (41). This may have been the year in which some Navajos picking pinyon nuts on Mount Taylor lost a horse to a mountain lion, although the date of this misadventure is not recorded (42).

The absence of many Navajos during their long stay in the pinyon forests undoubtedly had some effect on the winter grazing patterns in the grasslands. One effect--that of more plentiful money--was regretted by Stacher (43):

The past year has been a prosperous one to the majority of the Navajos of this jurisdiction, with wool 25 to 27¢ per pound, 10¢ per pound for lambs, a heavy pinion (sic) crop and abundance of work in lumber camps, (and) road construction. Prosperity is the

cause for more drunkenness (sic), Mexicans and whites peddle booze on the border of the Indian Country. We have captured stills and in one case confiscated a Ford Car used in transportation of booze but it makes but little impression on those devils who peddle and manufacture the stuff they dispose of

Judging from the limited information, the winter seemed a quiet time, and the weather was pleasant (44). Griffin probably built his fences to protect some of the ruins from the "depredations" of livestock (45a). The only major policy-decision in Washington was probably the recommendation that the various Navajo superintendents try to establish formal chapter organizations in the several communities under their charge (45b)--a suggestion that was to have far-reaching future effects, but which had little immediate influence.

Spring brought a more dramatic series of events.

The public domain east of the reservation was still a meeting-ground for Anglo, Spanish-American, and Navajo--and not in every case was the meeting on friendly terms. The tri-ethnic balance of the region appears in news reports for the early part of April 1926. One report, describing a stockmen's meeting held in Gallup on March 25, lists some familiar and unfamiliar names as representing the "Crownpoint district": Wade and Wales Smith; K. Presley; Frank Lovelady; Jerry Ferris; W. F. Pitt; and Mark Elkins.

Another event noticed by the paper in the April 11 issue was the theft of 80 sheep from A. C. Jacquez by Alfredo Trujillo and Criastino Trujillo with the "connivance" of Jacquez' herder, Carmel Lobato. The rustlers sold the sheep to the Sargent-Setzer trading post in Rio Arriba County (46). This was the old store that preceded the "Pueblo-Alto" trading post near Pueblo Pintado. It became the winter headquarters for Sargent after the Pueblo Bonito store changed hands (47). Although Sargent and Setzer owned it jointly at this time, little is known regarding its operation. Sargent also owned the post at Star Lake in 1926, where he had R. G. Smith, Jr., working as trader (48).

An 18-year-old Navajo grandson of Billy McKinney was driving cattle in the Kimbeto vicinity when his horse threw him. He suffered a broken leg, and was taken to the San Juan Episcopal Mission hospital in Farmington for treatment (49). There had been heavy rains in April, which fell over a wide area, including the Chaco country (50a)(50b), and Joseph N. Kimmel,

the stockman at that time, probably drove the injured boy to town through the mud.

Up the Kimbeto wash, beyond the Government farmer's substation, lived a part-time silversmith named Santiago Platero. Prohibition had brought the Navajos access to a new skill, for the closing of the large commercial distilleries of whiskey had led to a rapid spread of the knowledge of how to build and operate stills. Although the techniques have never become so well-established among the Navajos that distilled beverages are considered a distinctive Tribal product, some Navajos have learned the process from time to time. Platero was an enterprising man and not unwilling to take some risk, for he was able to conceal his operation quite well, as a later description makes clear (51):

. . . A board almost completely covered with dirt was observed He . . . kicked it and found it was loose and the earth not well settled around it He lifted it and found it covered a hole in the ground. Below there were three more boards not covered with dirt Their removal revealed a tunnel with a door with two padlocks . . . when the still house was revealed A stove pipe ran up to just about the surface. This was covered over with tin about a foot square which in turn was covered with dirt. It was all very skillfully done

Platero had two wives, a married daughter, a son (52), and perhaps other dependents. His still was not productive enough to meet all of his needs, and he continued to make jewelry as well. One of his customers was a Spanish-American employee of the Indian Service at the substation who had ordered a bracelet.

Late in April, one of Platero's neighbors took offense at his bootlegging activities. He was a young man--probably a recent returnee from the Indian schools--and he threatened to report Platero's illegal activities to stockman Kimmel. The exchange between Platero and his neighbor probably became quite heated, for Platero ended the discussion by threatening to kill both his neighbor and Kimmel, should the latter learn of his still.

The next day, entirely unaware of these circumstances, Kimmel set out with his wife, and his interpreter, Frank Lope, on a trip that was to pass Platero's homesite. His Spanish-American worker asked that he stop to get the bracelet. As

the Government car drove up to his house, Platero looked out the door and retreated to the back room, leaving two women--perhaps his wives--to face the Federal official who he suspected knew of his illegal business. Lope had seen him clearly enough to recognize him, and he and Kimmel were reluctant to leave without getting the bracelet. Their persistence in trying to find Platero, and failure to tell the women their reason for wanting him led Platero to only one conclusion--that his young neighbor had turned him in to the authorities. Platero was an experienced hunter and good shot, and his first thought was to take his 30-30 rifle. Perhaps he had been drinking a bit, as well. When Kimmel extended his search to behind the house, Platero panicked and fired through the window, killing the stockman. Mrs Kimmel heard the shot and ran around the house. Finding her husband dead, she and Lope left in the car, expecting bullets to follow them at any moment (53).

Platero was sobered by his rash act, and realized that police would come to arrest him. He took his younger wife and fled to a remote hogan, leaving his older wife and son-in-law in his two-room house. Soon various white officials began to gather at his home. One car that lost its way stopped at the hogan in which he had sought refuge, but he remained quiet, and it soon went on. His still was discovered, his older wife and his son-in-law were arrested and taken to jail in Aztec, and searchers began to spread out over the country. Platero abandoned his hogan, and retreated into a wilderness of badlands, where he hoped to escape notice. However, the San Juan County sheriff persuaded Platero's son and son-in-law that they should help find the old man and convince him that he should surrender. The deputies accompanied them to within about 2 miles of his suspected hidingplace, then sent the two Navajo men on alone. They were successful in finding Platero, and the three set out to return to the posse. On the way, however, a small group of whites accosted them, took Platero, and left (54). Descriptions of Platero's abductors differ. The Farmington paper described them as "a crowd of sixteen persons believed to have been from McKinley County" (55). A letter written not long after the event states that they were "all the white men in the country" (56). Not long after, Platero's body was found hanging from a juniper tree (57-59a).

Although all of these events took place in San Juan County, it is of interest to note that Platero's inquest was held in McKinley County. The jurors, listed as Harry Boardman, J. C. Tyler, Wade C. Smith, Dan King, and O. B. Birkner, met in Crownpoint before Justice John Schauer, and rendered as

their verdict the conclusion that "the deceased came to his death on or about the 25th day of April, 1926, near Kimbeto station by reason of wounds inflicted and being hung by the neck by party or parties unknown by the jury" (60).

Perhaps even stranger is the fact that Stacher, in spite of his reference to Platero's still in his section on "Law and Order" in his annual report for fiscal year 1926, and to the killing of Kimmel, makes no mention whatsoever of the lynching (61). It seems highly improbable that Stacher would have taken part in anything of this sort, but it is very likely that white ranchers whom he knew well were involved. The leader of the lynch-mob is said by local Navajos to have been later elected sheriff of McKinley County.

The violence of April did no good for inter-ethnic relations in the checker-board country. The stories told at Chaco Canyon that grew out of the incidents were the usual sort, calculated to make the Navajos appear more foreign and mysterious in white eyes. Griffin's wife, writing many years later, stated merely that the word "Santiago (Platero's first name) still terrifies me," and asserted her belief that he had performed a war dance around Kimmel's body (62). The Pinkleys, who came to Chaco shortly after the event, reported the tense situation with full attention to the dramatic aspects and ready acceptance of all they were told. Frank wrote (63):

When I came into the Chaco Canyon the first of May I found considerable feeling among the Indians due to a recent lynching, but we had no trouble getting a gang to go to work on the protection of Pueblo Bonito and the feeling appears now to have quieted down. The trouble started when a Navajo Indian killed a white man without any provocation. There have been a good many such episodes in this district in the last 10 or 15 years and after long drawn out legal battles the killer got off with a light sentence or came clear entirely. This Indian was quite surprised when a party of men took him away from the officers and hung him. The Navajo doesn't mind being killed but he hates to be killed by hanging and that was the cause of the sullen feeling I found upon my arrival

Mrs. Pinkley, writing somewhat earlier--with perhaps less credulity, but equal concern--said that since the lynching (64):

. . . Everyone has been waiting in suspense for reprisals. As there are only two white families between here and Crown Point (sic), forty five miles away, we don't sleep very easy, especially as Frank is working a crew of eight Navajos. If you don't hear from us again you will know the reason why.

The trouble did not prevent Judd from hiring Navajos for his excavations that summer. Proportionately, he had more Navajos than ever, for his Zuni crew never exceeded seven, while the Navajo crew varied from 10 to 13 (65).

The Navajo Tribal Council, meeting at Fort Defiance on July 7-8, 1926, took some actions that would affect the checker-board country. Most important was the precedent set by the decision to set aside 20 percent of the oil royalties of the next year for the purchase of land for the people on the public domain (66). More immediate, if less far-reaching, was the encouragement given for continuation of the program to eradicate the disease of dourine among Navajo horses--an effort begun in 1918 (67). According to another source, the program was implemented for both disease-control and range-conservation (68). Stacher describes the way in which the work was carried out in his jurisdiction in terms suggesting that dourine was the lesser of the two motivating factors (69):

In the campaign to eliminate wothless (sic) and unsalable (sic) ponies from the range the Indians castrated nearly 500 stallions, some are using them for subsistence, although not as many as they should, no market has been found where they would realize as much as \$5 per head, and it was of their own choosing to eliminate the stallions in this way in order to limit their number of ponies. They were to be supplied with a few good stallions and Jacks (sic) two years hence

He gave a different, and culturally more significant, description of the hogan in his report in 1926 (70):

. . . The hogan, his winter domicile, is well ventilated and cannot be improved upon for this feature. The hogan is beehive in shape with opening at top to permit smoke to pass out from the fire in center of hogan. When built low and flat there may be poor circulation of air and smoke accumulates in

hogan and which aggravets (sic) eye trouble. Many Indians use powder cans, gasoline cans or other constructed pipe over the fire and projects above the top of hogan, creating a better draft and eliminating the smoke nuisance to a great extent

The fact that this use of smoke-hoods was already practiced by many of the Navajos suggests that it had been customary for some time. Surprising is the absence of mention of the use of stoves by this date, for they had been noted in earlier writings.

The spring rains had allowed widespread planting, and there were prospects of a good crop, as well as good growth of range plants (71). Stacher also noted with satisfaction the council action with regard to land purchases, and hoped that Congress would aid the program, for the continual defeat of all proposals to settle the matter had made the control of the range "the center of our troubles" (72). The year ended with the passing of one of the oldest Navajo settlers at Chaco--Wello, or Wero--who died in December (73).

An important change took place with the beginning of 1927. The National Park Service granted a permit to J. E. Matchin and J. L. Ambrose of Crownpoint to operate a trading post at Pueblo Bonito, with the sole conditions that they fix up the old building and carry tourist supplies (74). Griffin apparently intended to make his living entirely from the tourist trade, unless he had acquired other business interests such as livestock. The winter was cold, and Griffin's family stayed in Farmington, where his children were in school (75).

Land-use problems are prominent in the documentation for 1927. The bill to permit leasing of public domain was still before Congress, and in January, W. G. Pitt wrote to Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, explaining that his preference would be to sell his ranch to Stacher for the Indians' use. Should that not be possible, he hoped that he would be able to lease the public domain in T18N, R11W; T19N, R11W; T20N, R11W; and T19N, R12W. In all of these he already had the railroad lands under lease, and the school sections as well in three of them (76).

The diversity of peoples on the land was still a fertile source of trouble. On February 10, a Navajo sheepman, Tomás Largo, was found dead. Exactly where this happened is quite unclear, but Navajo policemen who followed the tracks leading

from his body for some 25 miles overtook Belermino Valdez and José Velásquez, Hispanic herders in the employ of Lieutenant Governor Ed Sargent. Whatever the happenings were that led to Largo's death--which on the basis of available data may have been either accidental or inflicted--drinking seems to have been involved. The herders' abandonment of their drinking companion was certainly negligence, if not motivated by guilt, and the Navajos' feelings were strong in the case. Some 45 Navajos had gathered around the body, and kept guard to preserve all tracks until the authorities could arrive (77a) (77b). The trial was not held for a year, but at that time the case was dismissed (78).

It is of interest to note that Sargent apparently did not move his sheep from San Juan County back to the Chama valley in Rio Arriba County quite quickly enough in 1927, for he had to pay property taxes in the county on 550 head. As he continued to pay taxes on a few hundred head each year thereafter, it may be that he had begun to keep a small herd permanently at one of his pieces of property in the county (79).

Stacher's annual report for the fiscal year indicates that conditions were not greatly changed at mid-year (80):

Hogans, corrals and perhaps some fencing is found on at least one of the allotments belonging to a family, the lack of water for stock and domestic purposes and the controm (control) of range within certain areas have been against the Indians in making improvements or use of his land, the control of the range referred is by white men who have eliminated the Indian from his former range and home, by leasing of the Railroad sections consisting of the odd numbered and the leasing of the 4 school sections in each township

With decreased range, the Indians cannot hope to materially increase their herds, when all of their accessible range is in use the year round with no reserve whatever. There was some loss the past winter on account of feed shortage . . . but the tense situation in which the Public Domain Navaho is placed is already known to the Office, efforts in the past have been put forth to secure extension of the reservation . . . but outside of the Indian Department, the Indians have few friends and but few who have the courage to try to give them constructive assistance. The result is that the politicians of this state have prevented . . .

the acquisition of this needed land . . . and as a last resort . . . an effort is being made by the tribe to secure a million dollar loan to by (sic) at least part of the range

It remains to be seen if Congress will have the courage to provide this reimbursable loan or whether politicians of the New Mexico type will be able to prevent (it).

Stacher's only note on cultural change is a comment on improving sanitary conditions, brought about in part by increased use of cupboards for food storage (81). For the first time, this report was submitted as that of the Eastern Navajo agency rather than as the Pueblo Bonito agency (82).

Judd's archeological work provided few jobs in 1927, for he had no more than one or two Zunis and two to eight Navajos employed, and most of them for shorter periods than usual (83). One unintended special beneficiary of the project was a Navajo toddler nicknamed "Black Bottom" by the whites from a popular song of 1927. His father was employed by Judd, and his young educated mother kept house for the family in a nearby dugout beside the arroyo. Black Bottom soon discovered Judd's camp kitchen, and quickly learned to like the cookies available there (84).

Sargent's acquisition of Navajo George's old range was well underway by 1927. Stacher wrote Pinkley in hopes that the National Park Service could exercise authority within the monument that would help protect the lands of the family. Pinkley could offer little more than his own good will and assurance that the Park Service would respect the Indians' rights (85):

I note that Willie George, a Navajo Indian, has been ordered by Alfred (sic) Hutton, who has some interest in the railroad lands leased by Mr. Sargent, to move from Section 26, T21N, R10W, where he has been living for many years and where his grandfather lived before him. This section lies within our Chaco Canyon National Monument and you want to know if I can do anything in the matter.

As you probably know, the odd sections . . . are railroad land and, being under lease to Sargent in that portion of the monument, we have nothing to say about them. However, if Willie lives on Section 26, so far as I know that is a Government

section, our proclamation covers it fully and neither Mr. Hutton nor Mr. Sargent have any authority to order Willie to move. This would be true of any other Indians who are living on even numbered sections which have not gone to patent within the boundaries of the monument.

Willie needs no permit from us. We are not going to bother him as long as he remains a good Indian.

. . . I would suggest that you ask Mr. Hutton to show what authority he is working under in ordering Willie to move, and if he claims any real authority over Section 26 I wish you would let us know. I will cooperate with you in any way I can for the good of the Indians who are living on our monument.

Exactly what further transpired in the matter is uncertain, but it would appear that George was able to retain his claim for a while longer. Little else is known regarding the events of the year except for the rather brief sketch in Gus Griffin's report of December 21, as relayed by Pinkley (86):

. . . They were having cold weather and some snow
. . . . Mrs. Sammons, who owns some patented land
. . . is not at all satisfied with the recent lines run by the General Land Office and speaks of doing something about it A cattleman eleven miles up the canyon is talking of fencing down toward Bonito. It would be wise to see him and find out which sections he intends to fence and stop him if he intends to fence out any government sections A new road has been run out from Crownpoint which stays on the high ground and will be a much better wet weather road than the old one as well as several miles shorter

The survey mentioned was probably the one done by D. M. Daughterty in November 1926, which merely delineates the conflicting tract lines in the vicinity of Pueblo Bonito and neighboring ruins (87). The rancher mentioned but not named was undoubtedly either Sargent himself or one of his associates or employees. "Eleven miles from Bonito" would not identify him, but 11 miles east from the park boundary would bring one to Setzer's store, where a Sargent interest is known for 1918 (88), and also for 1936 (89). That Sargent's involvement there was continuous is not certain, but this explanation seems the most reasonable, because it fits in with other events during this period.

An event that would slow progress in land matters for the Navajos was the temporary suspension of Hagerman from his position, which left the responsibilities of overall Navajo administration again directly under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (90).

The first event of note in 1928 was the addition of 1-3/8 sections of land to Chaco Canyon National Monument by Presidential proclamation on January 10. This included four separate tracts: one in section 10, T20N, R8W, in order to include Pueblo Pintado; two in sections 25 and 32 in T21N, R12W, to take in Kin Klizhin (Kin t̥lizhin, "Black House") and Kin Bineola (Kin Biniyola, "Wind-Struck House"); and all of section 24, T21N, R11W, to take in Tsin Kletsin (Tsin t̥lizhin, "Black Wood") on top of South Mesa (91). However, the monument was still an unfenced and largely unsurveyed entity (92), and the boundaries meant little to the occupants of the land.

Toward the end of January, Stacher reported continued trouble between the Navajos and Hutton (93):

It became necessary to better establish boundaries in Sections 4 and 5, Township 20 North, Range 9 West, and also Sections 31 and 32, Township 21 North, Range 9 West as there is a bitter feeling between the Indians in that section . . . and Mr. Alfred (sic) Hutton who is trying to drive them out The line between these two sections mentioned is a correction line and no doubt the controversy between the Indians and Mr. Hutton is due to a variation that they do not understand The Indians have improvements in that locality that we wish to protect

Stacher recommended a re-survey, in hopes that it would settle the trouble (93). The work was authorized in Washington (94), and the survey done in August by Thomas D. Daley (95a)(95b). It is notable that the plat of neither township shows any improvements, nor did the surveys receive final approval until 1935 (96), while the field notes for the surveys claim "no improvements" in any of the four sections (97). However, archeological survey in the area has revealed a number of Navajo sites said to have been occupied by Navajo George or his relatives (98), and Sargent's influence behind the scenes seems very likely to have continued to affect the land situation.

Matchin and Ambrose received a 1928 permit for their trading operations at Pueblo Bonito (99). Griffin, in an effort to help the Park Service consolidate its holdings, was able with a partner

to purchase the old Wetherill tract (100a)(100b) from Mrs. Sammons.

Griffin described weather during the winter as "delightful" (101), which suggests easy grazing for stock during the cold months, but probably a dry spring which would not be conducive to planting crops.

Through the years, the allotting program had remained incomplete. In March yet another allotting agent, Charles E. Roblin, arrived to try to finish up the work before he might be transferred or terminated. He requested funds for a surveyor, a six-man field crew, an interpreter, and two automobiles (102). He was granted \$3,170 of the \$3,500 requested (103), and by careful planning and advance preparation by the Government stockmen in each area he visited, he was able to accomplish a great deal (104). This, plus the first effort in many years to accomplish a reasonably accurate Navajo census, soon overtaxed the time of Stacher's three clerks, and by mid-year he was asking that another clerical position be allowed his agency.

Early in the year, Roblin's work brought him into the Chaco country, where he tried to adjust the problem created by Welo's allotment taking in a portion of the ruins of Peñasco Blanco. He found that Welo's heirs, two sons and three daughters, were using a cornfield in the center of the section in question, so that the field included part of the Welo allotments that had been made to Welo's wife, daughter, and granddaughter. Although Welo's allotment was still in force (a trust patent was granted on it in 1919), the other three allotments had been cancelled in 1910, but the heirs still made claims to the land. In addition to the cornfield, there were two rock houses on the Welo allotment, one with six rooms, and the other with four, although two rooms were falling into ruins in the former, and neither house seems to have been occupied at this time. Roblin recommended an exchange that would give the family the central quarter of this section and free the western end of Peñasco Blanco for full Park Service ownership, while ensuring the Navajos access to the wash where wells could be dug (105). However, the Navajos were not interested in the exchange that Roblin proposed, and he found so many complications in the scattered tracts and numerous rejections of former allotments (106) that no further attention seems to have been given the matter at this time.

Stacher's report for the fiscal year showed few drastic changes, but many small developments. Perhaps most notable was the slight softening of his attitudes toward Navajo singers and Navajo

Religion--still far from real tolerance, but at least a recognition of the ceremonies as religious in character (107):

There is but little change from last year with respect to superstition and practice of Indian Medicine men and they still maintain a strong hold over the young and old alike, tho with one physician and inadequate hospital receives increased patronage from the Indians including some of their most noted medicine men. It is a matter of education. Their medicine practice is a part of their religion and it cannot be expected to see any great change unless we are prepared to give something better in return for what they already have, that is more doctors, nurses and hospitals

Although changes in health care progressed too slowly to suit Stacher, another aspect of acculturation was found to be taking place too rapidly. Since Platero's demise, no Navajos of whom Stacher was aware were operating stills, although (109)

. . . some of the Indians are getting to be like some of the white toppers, they stand in with some favorite bootleggers and the difficulty of prohibition enforcement is obvious. They have many automobiles and with better roads being constructed gives them easier means of getting booze than ever before

Now that the Anglos were themselves subject to prohibition, sympathy for the Indians' deprivation of alcohol seems to have developed. Convictions for liquor violations were more difficult to obtain than ever, and sentences far too light to please Stacher (109).

The campaign against "surplus and useless" ponies continued, with no mention of dourine as a factor. Some 2,700 had been driven from the Eastern Navajo country, with the owners receiving \$1 to \$3 per head. With drought, circumscribed range, and a poor market for rugs, the Navajos were probably glad to make a little money from their horse-herds. Congress had passed legislation authorizing loans to the Tribe to assist in making land purchases, so that prospects were far from bad (110).

Judd had finished his work in the Chaco ruins and disposed of his used lumber, old wheelbarrows, iron cots, and other miscellaneous equipment, by giving them "to the National Park Service Custodian, to local residents and to Navajo Indians who

formerly had been in our employ" (111). The Park Service kept a Navajo crew busy all summer working on repairs to the ruins (112). The accessibility of the canyon was improved greatly by the construction of a bridge over the Escavada wash, and another over the Chaco wash near Pueblo Bonito (113)(114).

Griffin, although only a part-time custodian, was placing increasingly greater emphasis on the park values of the canyon. In September, according to Pinkley, he wrote saying (115)

. . . he wants to stop all hunting on the monument and has asked for instructions as to how to proceed. He says there are at least two thousand quail around his place and shooting drives them away

In December, Griffin was replaced by a regular custodian, Hilding F. Palmer, but this was only on paper, for Palmer was not sent to Chaco until the following spring (116).

Angora goats were becoming part of Navajo herds in 1928. The Shiprock agency let a contract for angoras to be distributed in September, and it was estimated that deliveries would "require about ten days of steady hauling" (117). The Eastern Navajo agency reported only 50 angoras bought for the people of that jurisdiction (118).

The poor state of the economy was a major concern. Grazing was poor, and the market for lambs quite limited. Lamb prices were low and hay and feed high (119). Profits of the Chaco trading post for 1928 were \$1,264.18 (120). The post continued to be owned by Matchin and Ambrose into 1929 (121), with Wade C. Smith operating it (122a)(122b).

There was a heavy snowfall in the first week of February 1929 (123). The wool clip of the region was good that spring (124), and the Chaco Navajos undoubtedly contributed their share to the estimated million pounds.

Palmer arrived at Pueblo Bonito on April 26 to assume his new duties (125). In June, there was a house under construction for the new custodian (126); it was completed by the end of July (127). There were probably some jobs for Navajos in construction, as well as in the excavations resumed by Hewett for the School of American Research at Chetro Ketl. Among those working for Hewett were John P. Harrington, who was conducting linguistic investigations. He found that Nachapani, the Zuni who had married a Chaco Canyon girl, was living near Pueblo Bonito, and available to help in a study of the Zuni language. Dan Cly, Edward Henry, and Rafael

helped Janet Tietjens prepare a list of local Navajo place-names. Jobs for Navajos included both work as laborers in the excavations and as informants, but data on the total number hired are lacking (128-131).

Spring was dry, and many Navajos did not plant (132). By June the drought was so bad that the people of Newcomb held a "Rain Ceremony," said to have been the first of this sort held by the Navajos in many years (133). By September the usual heavy late summer rains had struck, damaging roads and ruins (134).

Stacher's annual report for the 1929 fiscal year is an unusually informative one. Although it is seldom specific as to calendar year, it does indicate considerable progress in the organization of chapters (135):

Through the organization of Chapters in various localities and with the headmen, the administration of reservation affairs has been facilitated

Each year there are more and better homes constructed, and this feature should be put forward through the thirteen chapters now organized among the Indians, although this year their efforts were confined to the construction of dipping plants, road building , bridges, digging of more wells and spring development

Exactly how this new political unit was being handled is rather vague, but it seems certain that it was enjoying a good reception by the Navajos. They may well have felt the need quite strongly.

In addition to the hardships caused by the dry weather, the economy was bad, and there was no market for Navajo weaving. Some 200 did have jobs with the railroad, and others were at work on roads, at sawmills, and in lumber camps (136).

The crowding of the land was an even more serious matter. Stacher noted that the Navajos depended on their allotments, "and there is not any open range which they occupy or use in reserve." Roblin had made 212 new allotments, but there were 457 old ones still pending. Stacher thought another 5 years would be needed to finish up the allotting (137). Roblin reported "a concerted effort to cover as much 'government' land as possible . . . by white homestead entries" (138). The Navajo population of the eastern agency jurisdiction was well over 7,000 (139); the pressures for land were growing greater each year.

Most of the land purchased by the Navajo Tribal Council in 1929 lay outside 'Crownpoint's jurisdiction, and far from Chaco (140). Stacher again became involved in efforts to negotiate land exchanges with the Santa Fe railway, in particular a proposed exchange of the even sections in townships 18, 19, and 20 north, range 11 west, for the odd-numbered sections in townships 18 and 19 north, range 12 west, and T19N, R13W (141). Stacher reported in some detail on the effort about the middle of October (142):

. . . This proposed exchange involves a number of Indian allotments within the area they desire to secure and for which trust patents have been issued. Inasmuch as the lands they desire are leased to Mr. W. F. Pitt, of Crownpoint, and is (sic) entirely enclosed by an illegal fence, the Indians have no use of the land within this enclosure This land cannot be used by the Indians without water development, and (they) are not justified in doing much work on their lands in this area when they do not have control

I would respectfully recommend that we be instructed to negotiate with the Indians for the relinquishment of these lands with the idea of making new selections in any other Township in which they desire to locate

It is very urgent that we secure railroad lands in Townships 18 and 19, Range 12, as we have leased railroad lands therein for a number of years and for this mutual exchange we would only be giving the Indians the lands which they are now using, and consolidation through exchange or purchase is very desirable

Negotiations were also underway with Welo's heirs to obtain the rest of Peñasco Blanco ruin for the National Park Service. Stacher sent the papers in the case to Monte Lope, who was working as stockman at Kimbeto, but the heirs refused to sign them (143). Stacher decided to go to Chaco to talk with them himself, but learned early in November that

. . . they had all left this part of the country, having gone up into the Apache Reservation and extension picking pinon nuts

They remained in their pinyon camps into January 1930, in spite of deep snow (144). Finally, in March, the six heirs offered to sell 40 acres for \$300, or at \$50 for each heir (145).

The effects of the Depression were being felt (146). The pinyon crop was very heavy in 1929. One Albuquerque company alone handled 115 carloads of nuts (147).

The first moderately successful, if ephemeral, missionary effort in the Chaco region seems to have taken place late in December 1929. A group from the Episcopal San Juan Mission held services in conjunction with a Christmas party and distribution of gifts at Kimbeto following a similar event at Carsons trading post. About 50 people attended the Kimbeto affair (148).

The general attitudes of whites toward Navajo religious practices were still very much expressive of opposition based on a Christian-missionary philosophy. An editorial in a Farmington newspaper probably expresses the feelings of most whites of the times (149):

Either the Navajo Indian will grow away from the superstitious power of the medicine man as exercised in the ceremonial dance or he will not be able to take his place in modern day civilization as President Hoover wishes him to do.

Some Navajos accepted this teaching. J. C. Morgan wrote the paper to thank the writer of the editorial, and to condemn the traders for sponsoring ceremonies near their trading posts (150). Chaco was far-removed from most mission activity. There was a mission station at Carsons with only a Miss Lena Wilcox assigned (151)--too far north and too limited in staff to exert much influence. Even after a full mission was established there in May, it would little affect the Chaco people (152).

The Chaco trading permit was again issued in 1930 to Matchin and Ambrose (153). January was a month of plentiful snow (154a) (154b), but considerable work was nevertheless accomplished in the field by the Crownpoint agency. By February 7, it was reported that 12 dams had been built during the winter (155). The snow was probably sporadic, and melted often enough to keep the pasturage easy to reach, for stock was reported to be wintering unusually well (156).

Chapter activities were becoming increasingly important. During 1930, five chapter houses were constructed within the agency jurisdiction (157), although none of these by a chapter of the Chaco country. One project undertaken by the Huerfano Chapter was repair of the road to Farmington--a state road which had been too long ignored by Santa Fe. Some 50 Navajos, plus the trader,

O. J. Carson, and a white stockman, Reid Coppinger, pooled their resources and efforts and found that the county was willing to lend a grader, and that several citizens were willing to help with gas and oil, and others would help feed the workers on the 3-day job (158).

Stacher was still organizing new chapters (159). In February, he sent his stockmen, including Lope, to Las Cruces for a special short course in agriculture (160). In March, he visited the Kimbeto, Pueblo Alto (Pueblo Pintado?), and Star Lake areas with a doctor because of outbreaks of measles and whooping-cough which caused several deaths among children (161).

Also in March, Hagerman was reappointed to his former position of "Commissioner to negotiate with the Indians" (162)(163), and greater attention could be given to the land problem. Opposition to the Navajos was spirited. On April 11, the Farmington newspaper reprinted an editorial from the Gallup Herald attacking both the allotting program and any expansion of the reservation (164). Pressure from New Mexicans had been increasing since the previous year, and in April the allotting was terminated. Roblin was transferred to Montana. He had worked hard during the last few months of his stay, averaging over 100 allotments per month, and the agency staff rewarded his efforts with a farewell party and dance on his last Saturday evening at Crownpoint (165a)(165b) According to Stacher, about 1,000 allotments were made during Roblin's incumbency (166).

Overgrazing, drought, and erosion were having an increased effect under the conditions existing on the range. Arroyo-cutting near Pueblo Bonito was rapid. Griffin claimed that in the 6 years he had lived there the channel had been widened at least 25 feet; Smith, at the trading post, claimed that it had expanded 40 feet in only 2 years, and he feared loss of his buildings in the next major flood (167). At the same time, the Depression had drastically lowered the price of lambs and wool (168a)(168b). Prices in 1930 were 17¢ a pound for wool, and 4¢ to 4-1/2¢ for lambs (169).

When Palmer returned in May for his second season as custodian of the national monument, he found that both approaches to the new bridge had washed out, although the bridge itself still stood. The roads generally were bad; the weather was dry and windy. About the only good news was that there was a new well just below the store (170).

Hewett began his 1930 excavations on June 5 with a crew of 12 Navajo workers (171).

Toward the end of June, there was an event at a trading post not far north of the Chaco country that suggests a change in drinking habits. As reported by the Farmington paper (172):

E. E. Otis, who runs a trading post about forty miles out on the Bloomfield-Cuba highway, had his place raided Monday evening by Prohibition Enforcement Officers They reported finding seventeen cases of beer covered by some thirty cases of pop Mr. Otis . . . pled guilty and was fined \$100 and costs

Mr. Otis has been acting as Deputy Sheriff in order to give him some protection in his isolated mercantile business. Sheriff Blancet cancelled the appointment and took up his badge.

It is of course uncertain whether or not Otis' customers were Navajos, but somebody in that section was buying beer in some quantity.

However, it was the land question that continued to be the major concern. Hagerman made a tour of several reservations, arriving in Farmington early in June after going through Navajo country. C. E. Farris accompanied him on this inspection (173). A Tribal council meeting was held at Fort Wingate on July 7 and 8. Deshna Clah Chischillige, a young Navajo who ran a service-station in Shiprock, and was a bitter political rival of Chee Dodge, was re-elected Tribal chairman. However, Dodge was still a potent force in Navajo politics, and voiced a strong protest against Roblin's transfer (176):

. . . We want to get a map of the land that is purchased for the different jurisdictions so that each jurisdiction will know where their land lies . . . we don't know anything about where it is. And another thing, since the surveyor (meaning allotting agent) has been removed from this country, we want that surveyor sent back here, the one that moved away, Robbins (Roblin). We want him back, because there is nobody here to allot the land to them. They want the allotting (sic) agent sent back.

Hagerman was quite equivocal in his reply to this request, and suggested that Stacher could handle any allotting that needed to be done. Stacher reported that through the years he had made

about 200 allotments (176). Morgan, who was dedicated to rapid acculturation, presented his version of the meeting in a news story that shows the outcome (177):

One of the main problems was the land question. Most all of the southern and eastern Navaho jurisdictions are very strong for the purchase of more grazing land, and of course, that meant asking for more appropriation of money on the strength of the oil royalties. Land exchanges, allotments and leasing of land were discussed. All members of the council believed it to be "just the thing to do" but the writer recommended to the council the same program as agreed to by the last council, that is, to work out the best possible way to obtain the land that would be useful to the Tribe with the aid and advice of the Indian Office, according to whatever they thought best, using the authorized money allowed by Congress (177).

Thus, the bureau gained a free hand, and any background political pressures that might have been acting against the allotting program were left without strong Tribal opposition.

The weather at Chaco remained dry well into July, with resultant poor range conditions (178), but toward the end of the month, the rains came, and road conditions and grazing improved (179)(180).

The first report that W. E. Rollins, a noted painter of the Southwest, and also Gus Griffin's father-in-law, was living with his daughter in Chaco Canyon appeared in the Farmington newspaper in July (181). Rollins was to live at Pueblo Bonito off and on for some time. Although there is little indication that he had any close contact with the local people, it is not unlikely that his presence had some impact on artistic standards and ideas among both Navajos and whites of the region. It is possible, although perhaps beyond proof at this late date, that late developments in Navajo rock art show his influences.

Construction of the Southern Union Gas Company's pipeline passing northeast of the canyon took place in 1930. In August, the headquarters for the construction crew was at R. G. Smith's store at Star Lake (182). No mention has been found of the employment of Navajos on this project. The work was reported to have been completed in early October (183).

The Griffins had begun writing the Chaco news for the Farmington newspaper. In addition to long stories on Rollins'

work, they sometimes reported in some detail on events among the Navajos. In the August 1 edition, they included an obituary (184):

Jessie Atencia, one of the Canyon's early pioneers, passed away this summer up in the Jemez mountains, where she had been taken to a medicine man of that region. She died of tuberculosis, a disease which is quite common among the Navajos. She was closely identified with Richard Wetherill and family, Mr. Wetherill being one of New Mexico's early explorers, shot and killed by a Navajo Indian. She at one time accompanied him east, representing the Navajo Tribe at a world fair, and displaying the arts and crafts of her people. Chaco Canyon misses her presence.

In September, unidentified Indians found the body of a white man near Seven Lakes. This turned out to be Lawrence Eaves, age 18, of Bluewater, who had been missing for some time (185). Eaves had been working for the Fernandez Sheep Company. Investigations soon revealed that a Gibson (or Gillson) Tucker, who lived near the Floyd Lee ranch southeast of Crownpoint, was the culprit, but Tucker was committed to the state insane-asylum in Las Vegas before he could be convicted. Tucker, along with his two brothers, Howe and John, had apparently been following the old western badman tradition. They were accused of molesting Navajo girls, and suspected of having killed an old trapper about a year earlier. Hagerman thought that a special investigator was needed to learn just what they had been doing (186). It seems doubtful that the Tucker brothers outlawry had extended into the Chaco country beyond the disposing of Eaves' body there.

The Griffins' report published on September 26 contained further Navajo news (187):

An Indian sing was held at the hogan of Tomacito some days ago. He informed residents of the Canyon that in a month's time the annual fire dance would take place some miles north of Chaco Canyon, in the vicinity of Kimbeto. A fire dance of spectral beauty was held in the same place some years ago. Parties located at Santa Fe are to be notified and others who want to view the Navajo dance next month. They will be guests of the Lodge during that period.

In spite of the Griffins' obvious bid for business at their lodge, and their failure to comprehend Navajo ceremonial scheduling,

the inclusion of such notes adds greater depth to our knowledge of Navajo activities in the region. A brief note mentioning some building being done at Pueblo Bonito by Wade Smith for "the museum of Pueblo Bonito" was also included (188).

For most Navajos, their traditional and rather flexible methods of computing the passage of time were apparently still satisfactory. The weekly cycle probably had little meaning, for Stacher, in scheduling chapter meetings, arbitrarily chose a day of the month that might fall on any day of the week in any given month. Chapters in the Chaco region, with their days and places for meetings were (189):

Kinebeto Chapter, on the 5th, at Kinebeto

Huerfano Chapter, on the 6th, at Carson's Store

Lake Valley Chapter, on the 12th, at Juan's Lake

White House Chapter, on the 14th, at Buck's Store

Star Lake Chapter, with 21st, at Bob Smith's Store

Pueblo Alto Chapter, on the 24th, at Selzer's Store

This schedule shows only four chapter houses in use by the Eastern Navajo agency, thus dating construction sometime during 1930, probably toward the end of the year. Other chapters undoubtedly held their meetings in the open.

The summer rains had begun by early August (190a)(190b), thereby helping mature a good harvest for at least some of the Chaco people. The Lake Valley chapter sent Stacher a report on their agricultural successes, listing, among others: Chischilling Bega and Tom Chischilling Bega, who planted 4 acres of beans to harvest 400 bushels, and 18 acres of corn which yielded 70 wagonloads; and Nelson Etcitty, whose 2 acres of corn produced two wagonloads, 2 acres of squash, five wagonloads, 49 acres of alfalfa, 3 tons of hay, and an additional four wagonloads of watermelons from an undisclosed acreage (191). The Navajos needed the harvest, for the price of lambs was half that of the previous year--only 4-1/2¢ to 5¢ at Farmington, and 4¢ to 5¢ at Crownpoint. Stacher instituted his own subsidy, giving the Navajos 10¢ for lamb to be used at the boarding school (192a)(192b). Some areas were in special need of this assistance. For instance, at Star Lake there was no rain, and therefore no corn (193).

There was another development at Star Lake. The second mission to be established near the Chaco country was under construction by J. C. Morgan for use by Reverend and Mrs. A. Vander Wagon (194).

Navajo control of Lake Valley was so important that the Government was leasing the odd-numbered sections in T20N, R12W, and T21N, R12W, from the New Mexico and Arizona Land Company (195a-195c).

The Depression seems to have brought about a resurgence of native trade-patterns, which bypassed the trading posts. By early November, large numbers of Navajo pastoralists from the higher elevations were bringing sheep to the San Juan valley, in the vicinity of Shiprock, to trade for corn (196).

The fourth chapter house in the Eastern Navajo agency was dedicated during the same month, and described as belonging to the "Bit-Tony-yazza Chapter." This name does not appear on Stacher's schedule cited above, nor has it survived as the name of any modern chapter. It must be presumed that it was an alternate name for one of the more easily identified chapters with a house at Standing Rock, Little Water, Cañoncito, or Puerticito.

Tribal politics were destined to have a strong effect on the Eastern Navajos, and were becoming more divisive. Morgan, in a letter to the editor of the Farmington newspaper, criticized Henry Taliman for his report on his trip east, and took offense at allegations by Chee Dodge's supporters that the Depression was the fault of the young educated men on the Navajo Tribal Council (197).

An interesting event--one with possible overtones of white machismo--was the cattlemen's annual coyote hunt, followed by a supper at the Smith ranch (198).

Toward the end of the year, the Navajo sheep of the agency were reported to be free of scabies (199), and the range to be in good condition for winter (200).

The latter prediction was confirmed as the season continued into 1931. In late January, Navajo herds were reported to be doing well (201). As spring approached, Stacher could report that "all classes (of livestock) have wintered unusually well," but noted that overgrazing was a problem throughout the region (202). The low prices paid for lambs had discouraged Navajo sales to the

traders, and the herds had grown some 50 percent during the preceding 2 years (203). Due to the limited market and favorable weather, livestock numbers were increasing far beyond the capacity of the range, and becoming increasingly vulnerable to a bad year.

The Navajos were still not so thoroughly involved in the Nation's cash economy that the Depression could affect them as strongly as it did many other people. Stacher requested permission to return to the old system of exchanging goods such as wagons and plows for labor at the agency, and received an authorization to do so with little delay (204a)(204b). Thus, a reversion to a barter economy during the economic hard times was an early reaction--first among the Navajos themselves, and soon between the Navajos and the Government. Had the traders been able to do the same, the Depression would have had little impact in Navajo country.

There had been a slight change in ownership of the trading post at Pueblo Bonito. The license issued in 1931 was made out to Machin alone (205). Why Ambrose dropped out of the partnership is not recorded, but it is probable that the Depression was a factor.

It is interesting to note that Hastiin Biyaal and another singer made a trip to Phoenix in February, although the reason for the journey is uncertain (206).

Chapter development was progressing well. Toward the end of February, Stacher reported that 20 chapters were organized, five chapter houses completed, and six more under construction, and asked for funds to help a little with the work (207). Enthusiasm for community projects seems to have been high. By early March, it was reported (208):

The Kimbeto Chapter members are doing considerable work on the steep hill leading out of the Chaco Canyon, north, which will ease the grade over the steep portion of that road. The Chapter house at Kimbeto is now nearing completion.

A willingness to participate in community work for little or no remuneration was probably largely a result of the lack of wage-work, a source of income that had become significant among the people of the off-reservation area. Stacher's description of the job market suggests a substantial labor surplus (209):

In years past, many Navajos were employed in the lumber camps of New Mexico and Arizona as well as being employed by the Santa Fe Railroad. This satisfactory employment condition has undergone a change during the past two years, which has terminated the employment of 80% of the formerly industrialized Navajo off the reservation. It seems that the Santa Fe Company has ceased employing Navajos in favor of non-citizen Mexican laborers. Steps have been taken to rectify this junjust (sic) act on the part of that employer. Many skilled silversmiths and other artisans have found profitable employment in nearby cities and towns.

In March, Wales Smith took over the management of the Chaco store from Sidney Boardman (210). Both probably worked there as employees of Matchin. Other business notes with some importance for the Chaco region include the identification of the trader at Kimbeto as C. Widdows, and a brief note indicating that the Sargent family had extended interests as far as Grants, where they owned a store in partnership with a man named Bond (211).

Cultural change was slow in some respects among the Eastern Navajos. Regarding architecture, Stacher wrote in his annual report (212):

. . . A very small percent of the Indian population live(s) in houses The number of families living in houses are (sic) increasing. However, the hogan is still a popular abode. Many of the houses and hogans are furnished with tables, chairs, bedsteads, stoves, and cupboards

Stacher was still opposed to medicine men and making efforts to enforce prohibition, but was not particularly successful in either (213). However, political organization was making greater progress. In addition to the chapters, an Indian court had been established, and each stockman's district seems to have chosen one judge. The Kimbeto district held its election for this position about the end of March or beginning of April, although the successful candidate is not identified in available sources (214a) (214b).

The chapters helped with the promotion of some of Stacher's objectives. Interestingly, these were primarily programs regarding livestock. A continuing program to reduce the number of horses and better equalize their distribution among the various families had chapter support (215), as did the operation of community ram-herds. Stacher's description of the latter is of particular interest (216):

. . . We have, for many years, had the Indians in all this jurisdiction separate the rams from the breeding ewes in the springtime, and each locality selects their buck herder and he looks after them during the season. We are able to carry this out further through the organization of the 20 community chapters that we have. We have got a very effective program in that direction. In the fall we try to have them breed the goats and put the bucks in about the 1st of December, and the sheep we put the bucks in about the 10th There is (sic) very few now that will not follow that practice.

Some matters had seen little change. Stacher still found that the real problem with scabies was its introduction by white-owned flocks, and that the complaints of Navajo sheep spreading the disease were unjustified (217).

It seems probable that the continuation of these complaints was a result of the continuing competition for land. The Navajo population of the Eastern Navajo jurisdiction was estimated to be "above 7,500" in 1931--nearly 7,000 of whom lived on the public domain. Government efforts at the consolidation of Indian lands were progressing, but not at any rapid rate. Two years of work had effected the consolidation of only two townships. Stacher could look back on 22 years of struggle to gain a secure land base for the people under his jurisdiction with a very limited sense of accomplishment and a strong awareness of the needs of the Navajos for lands beyond the small plots that had been allotted to them (218).

A new kind of competition was developing in the checker-board country--that of small homesteaders. In April, Stacher stated (219):

. . . At the present time, out on the east side there are many homesteaders coming in. In the last three months . . . there are more than 200 came into that area. The Chief of the Land Office, field division, advised me they are making 15 to 25 entries a day on that land . . . ex-soldiers and other people who have been induced to come out here.

Just who was inducing the veterans to move into Navajo country is far from clear, however. Many were settling in the vicinity of Star Lake, hoping to be successful at dry-farming (220). Most were

undoubtedly young men who found few opportunities for employment due to the Depression and were blindly optimistic regarding their chances of success in a country that seemed sparsely populated, unaware that it was already being exploited by Navajos and white ranchers beyond its capacity.

In May, Stacher requested special funds to use for road-building, hoping jobs would help relieve the Navajos' conditions. He was allowed \$1,000 (221)(222). He also urged increased plantings of crops (223). Economic conditions must have been felt in the operation of the trading posts. May saw another change in the store manager at Chaco, when Theron Cupp took over the job (224).

Lope was still serving as stockman at the Kimbeto station, a length of tenure that suggests competent handling of his duties. His wife's sister had died in April following an operation in the Farmington hospital, and in May his wife Louise died in the same hospital of the same cause (225).

June was to be a good month in Chaco Canyon, in spite of the hardships elsewhere. Grass and wildflowers were reported to be growing at Lybrooks, and there was probably good range throughout the entire region (226). Hewett arrived to continue his excavations in Chetro Ketl, bringing 22 students and hiring 29 Indians (227), probably all local Navajos. Among his students were Paul Reiter and Gordon Vivian (228). In spite of the availability of jobs locally, some Navajos were engaged in wage-work far from home. Paul Padilla was killed that year in an explosion of a lumber company train at McNary in Arizona (229).

The cowboy influence was extending into Chaco Canyon and beginning to affect Navajo life. About the middle of the month a rodeo was held. Participants in the bronc-riding included not only local young white men such as Louis Kirk, Lucias Smith, and Theron Cupp, but at least one Navajo, Clyde Beyaal (230).

Frank L. Fish replaced Palmer as custodian for the Park Service at the beginning of July (231). His first report, submitted early in the month, mentions a saving on fuel anticipated due to the mining of coal in the monument (232). The source of the coal was probably the old Wetherill mine in Rafaels Rincon.

An Enemyway was held in the canyon, with the last day coinciding with the Fourth of July. Fish estimated attendance at 1,000 people, most of whom were Navajos. Brush hogans had been erected in the "hillside" across the wash from Pueblo del Arroyo (233)(234). The local trading post undoubtedly helped sponsor the event.

Traders were continuing to dabble in stock-raising themselves in competition with their customers. During July, Rual Tanner, trading at Tsaya, bought 600 ewes for his herd on the Chaco (235).

Officialdom in Washington, D.C., took drastic action to assist the Navajos in holding the range-lands that they needed. The purchase of the railroad lands in T20N, R12W, for the Tribe was consummated in July (236). In the same month, Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur withdrew from entry a large tract of public-domain land at the urging of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles J. Rhoads (237). The proposal had originated with Hagerman, who hoped that this would permit a working out of separate Navajo- and white-controlled blocks of land in the checker-board country (238). Reaction among the local whites was prompt and vehement. An article entitled "West Suffers Another Blow" appeared in the Aztec Review, and was reprinted in the Farmington newspaper. The writer, George B. Bowra, while alleging interest in the Navajos, opposed allowing them any new lands, but concluded his piece with a revealing assertion (239):

In our opinion, the lands standing under withdrawal are doing no one any particular good, such land can be of no use to the Navajo but there is a possibility the white man can make use of it. The withdrawal is an injustice to the white citizens.

The next issue of the Farmington newspaper carried two more stories of interest relating to this matter. New Mexico State Engineer George McNeel had filed a claim on water from the San Juan and Animas Rivers, which he proposed diverting by means of a tunnel through the Continental Divide to the Rio Grande. Land Commissioner J. F. Hinkle was more direct. He denounced the withdrawal and predicted loss of revenue to the state from school lands that would be left as valueless islands within the Navajo tract (240). Early in August, Hagerman defended the withdrawal in Farmington, stating that he hoped the land could be divided into white and Indian areas speedily and the order lifted (241). An editorial in the same issue stressed the fact that the withdrawal was temporary. However, on the same page was a story reprinted from the Albuquerque Journal announcing Hinkle's intention to fight the withdrawal in order to preserve the taxable land base of the state. He claimed that what the Navajos needed was more land under irrigation, not "additional thousands of acres of desert lands on which they cannot make a living" (242). His willingness to promote more farm-land for the Tribe while opposing any increase in range-lands suggests political influences from white stockmen.

An unfortunate incident--an attempted rape of a white girl by a young uneducated Navajo--took place near Aztec on August 12 (243). This could have aroused strong anti-Navajo sentiment with regard to the land problem. However, the newspaper continued to try to present both sides of the land issue, and also reprinted a story from the Santa Fe New Mexican which gave support to the Navajo need for land (244):

While the state land commissioner is issuing daily broadcasts about how the government is depriving New Mexico settlers of their lands . . . it is perhaps wise to reflect that there are two sides to the puzzle The general proposition is to consolidate the Navajo reservation in order to bring to an end the long drawn-out wrangle resulting from the spotting of Indian lands amid those of whites. It is also a fact that the Navajo nation is steadily increasing in numbers, and that the problem of grazing land is one that has to be met.

It looks as if the government had gone to needless extremes in tying up everything in sight pending action by congress, but the land commissioner has failed to stress the fact that these withdrawals are temporary. We hardly fear that a consolidated reservation is finally going to surround Gallup and branch off into the Rio Grande valley. Probably he can safely keep his shirt on. And from previous utterances we are sure he does not care in the slightest what happens to any Indians. However fantastic these temporary withdrawals may be in spots, after all he hasn't mentioned at all the situation which is at the bottom of it.

Various news stories gave the quantity of lands withdrawn as 189 townships, but a listing of the withdrawn townships published in Farmington totals only 150 full townships and 15 fractional townships (245). It is possible that this figure reflects some modifications of the original order.

There is little evidence of awareness of the furor among the Navajos. The summer was dry into August, and when the rains did come they were scattered, falling mostly to the south of the canyon (246)(247). Stacher and Superintendent John G. Hunter of the southern Navajo agency planned a meeting of the chapter officers from the 50 chapters then organized under the two jurisdictions to be held in Tohatchi in September (248). The gathering

was later set for early October (249). As a result of a small-pox epidemic, it was next postponed indefinitely (250).

Another meeting held in Shiprock in the same month did have a lasting effect, for it resulted in the establishment of the United Indian Traders Association (251).

Toward fall, it was reported that there was a good pinyon crop over all of New Mexico (252). However, before serious attention was given to this harvest, the Navajos did participate in some ceremonial activities. There was a large Navajo attendance at the Laguna Corn Dance on September 19. On October 8, a less traditional event took place--the dedication of the Huerfano chapter house near the Carson trading post. Stoney Butte chapter was reported to have a large chapter house under construction (253). The dedication ceremonies at the Huerfano meetinghouse were attended by many dignitaries, among them Stacher; Morgan; Jim Pierce, as chapter president; and Hugh Yazzi, who had directed the construction. They spoke on various subjects, but there is no indication that the people gave special consideration to the controversy caused by the land withdrawal (254).

Some wage-work continued into the fall. Stabilization activities at Chaco were to be finished in October (255):

This month will finish all repair for this season at Pueblo Bonito and del Arroyo ruins. Our Indian masons are doing their usual excellent work. They have their own ideas on the quality of the work done by the Zunis under Mr. Judd. From the Navajo point of view the Zuni is a good farmer but he does not know much about laying stones.

It would appear that a tradition of work on stabilization projects had already begun to develop at Chaco.

Another program of importance that fall was one directed toward the branding of Navajo stock (256):

Livestock superintendent John C. Tyler is branding all Indian owned cattle. In addition to the individual brand the Department desires the I.D. brand to be used with the addition of the "E", the Eastern Navajo brand. It is expected that at least a month will be required to complete the job

The purpose of this effort was probably to ensure that all Navajo cattle on the public domain had a registered brand in compliance with state law.

A final event that probably attracted some of the Chaco people was a Nightway held at Sa-Nos-Tee (Tsenaa'ast'ii) on October 17. Fish had finished his season at Chaco 2 days earlier, leaving the care of the ruins to Cupp, who would give them what little attention he might be allowed by his duties at the trading post. Many Navajos were already at pinyon camps, picking the nuts for sale at 10¢ a pound (257).

In October, Roy Fetter, an engineer, with two assistants, was at the canyon surveying for a topographic map (258).

It was not until the end of October that a definite anti-Navajo bias appeared in the Farmington newspaper. A poetic parody of the myth of Monster Slayer "From the Collection of Whoozis Nut-pre" was composed with a strong element of ridicule (259). Whether this was an outgrowth of the land question or some other factor is uncertain, but it was followed by a similar poem late in November entitled "The Nutty Navajo" (260).

Chapter development continued. In November, four chapter houses were under construction among the Eastern Navajos, two of them close to the Chaco region. One was at Stoney Butte. Another was at Kimbeto, where the building was complete except for roof, because there were no funds available to complete it (261).

During the fall, Fish wrote a special "Report to the Director on Chaco Canyon National Monument" (262), which provides some data on land use at that time:

. . . Most of the flood waters come from east of the monument a large drainage area that is in very bad overgrazed condition due to no control over the Navajoe sheep, goat, and horse herds that range there the year around. South East of the monument, the country is controlled by stockmen and a better grazing condition exists.

In a caption for a photograph of Pueblo Pintado, Fish added that the ruin was used as a sheep-corral by the Navajos. Fish's brief account suggests that white ranchers had managed to exclude Navajos from some lands. The greatest pressure was from the south, between Chaco Canyon and Crownpoint, but even there the Navajos tenaciously held on to whatever lands they could claim, with Stacher's support. A complaint from one of the Anglo cattlemen illustrates the nature of the situation (263):

The Santa Fe Railroad Company owns a lot of land in this country, and under a law passed a year or two ago are allowed to relinquish back to the U.S. Government any of said land and select lieu lands in other places. Last year, they did relinquish all of their land in Townships 18 north and north 19, Range 12 West NMPM.

I have been using this land for grazing purposes for about twelve years without any protest from any one as I own, and have leased land all through Township 18.

Now the Superintendent of the Eastern Navajo Reservation, S. F. Stacher, has built a resorvoir (sic) for water storage on an Indian allotment (sic) and I have land leased from the State of NM on four sides of this resorvoir (sic) and have had for several years. This Railroad land that was relinquished back to the U.S. Government also lies in this same range. Now, S. F. Stacher tells me if any of my cattle gets on this land he can put them up in a corral (sic) and charge me a dollar a day per head. (On this relinquished rail road land I mean), he says it is the same as reservation proper now.

The question is, is this land reservation land and does S.F. Stacher have a right to take up my cattle.

Some of this land is fenced

Stacher's reply to this inquiry, written after the matter had undoubtedly passed through several offices on its way back to Crownpoint, indicated that Presley did not have quite as strong a claim as he presented in his letter. The only lands to which he had any established rights were his homestead and some leased school sections. He had not managed to preserve good relations with his Navajo neighbors, and had resorted to threatening to whip any Navajos who grazed their stock on his homestead (264).

The size of some white holdings is suggested by a shipment of 2,700 lambs by Long and Sargent in November (265). The old patterns were continuing, not only in the sheep industry, but in the liquor trade as well. John Tyler, with the aid of two prohibition officers, "captured two stills and a quantity of booze" at Cabezón early in the month (266). Evidence of the arrival of sheep from the Chama country by November is provided by an item in the Farmington paper (267):

Doctors . . . performed a delayed appendicitis operation on Juan Martinez, Jr, last week Mr. Martinez has been employed by R. C. Hubbard in the management of his sheep in the Star Lake country. His home is south of Tierra Amarilla.

The emergency medical treatment was performed at Crownpoint (267).

A more immediate problem was to claim the full attention of all before the land problem would receive further attention. During the last week of November, snow began to fall. Crownpoint soon had 16 inches, sheep were stranded at high elevations, and in spite of efforts to move them to lower country, losses were expected (268).

The snow continued into December, making conditions increasingly bad for stock-raisers. Early in the month, it was stated that cattle were still doing well, but that sheep were suffering. Sargent was buying corn at Waterflow for his lambs. The Chaco store was closed for the winter; whether it was due to the storms or other causes is uncertain (269). Soon the ever-increasing snow was a threat to both cattle and sheep. Low prices for wool and lambs left the Navajos without the resources to buy supplemental feed, and the traders had already extended all the credit they could safely afford. The main road from Bloomfield to Cuba was open, but many lesser roads were blocked by the storms. White owners who were able drove their stock into the San Juan Valley. Stacher concentrated first on getting food to the dispersed Navajo families under his agency, sending Cecil Lewis and R. Padilla to rescue pinyon-pickers caught at even higher elevations. Two truckloads of Navajos were brought in from the Mount Taylor area (270). By the following week, Stacher was also distributing feed for livestock, both oil-cake and hay. Whites and Indians suffered losses. Sargent was reported to have lost 1,000 sheep in a single night (271). Feed was distributed by any means possible to get it through the drifts--by car, by wagon, even on horseback. On the Saturday before Christmas, Stacher dispatched Lewis with a snowplow to open the road to Star Lake, following himself the next day with Padilla in trucks loaded with provisions and feed (272).

The storm was widespread. Even south of the Zuni Mountains, rescue operations were underway. Evon Vogt, custodian of El Morro National Monument, carried relief to Navajo pinyon-pickers caught by the storm south of Atarque. He found over 600 Tribesmen making their way out of the country, many traveling on foot because their horses had perished (273).

Assistance was sent by pack-train to Blanco Canyon the day after Christmas, the loads apparently confined to flour and other foodstuffs. The next day, a "fleet of trucks" left Crownpoint for Kimbeto. Loads included clothing, food, and feed. Losses by Navajo sheepmen were reported to be limited to old ewes and weak lambs (274).

Stacher also established depots of supplies in case of further snow (275), probably located at the stockmen's stations. There was some improvement in roads, enough that Wade Smith and his wife could get to Crownpoint from their ranch early in January, and Navajos from many areas could come in for the holding of court (276). Although many of the roads were opened, snow still covered the range, and it was necessary to haul feed. A shortage of corn and hay was developing. According to one report, the greatest losses were suffered by owners who moved their stock in search of better range (277).

The storms were not at an end, and the depots undoubtedly proved their worth. Chaco Canyon was isolated for several days. Dr. Barnwell and Julian Sandoval, his interpreter, were at Pueblo Bonito when a sand and snow storm struck. They took refuge in the trading post, but had no way of getting out a message that all was well. Two rescue-parties were sent out on January 13, and made their way through blizzards and snow drifts for 3 days to bring them back. On the 18th, Stacher set out with more supplies for Blanco (278). From there, he went on to Farmington, probably to arrange for delivery of additional goods. He had already distributed 12 carloads of oil-cake, two carloads of corn, and 250 tons of hay (279). New snow fell while he was there, stranding two of Sargent's truck-drivers who were hauling oil-cake for his sheep (280), and probably stranding Stacher as well.

Another storm struck on the 23rd. The Farmington newspaper's correspondent in Crownpoint described conditions (281):

Crownpoint was hit by another storm Saturday. Sunday morning a number of Indians were in and reported the loss of sheep that had drifted with the wind Saturday night. Many Indians are in daily getting feed for stock and rations for themselves. As fast as feed is brought in from the railroad it is issued out. Superintendent S. F. Stacher has been out on the reservation practically all the time since the first storm hit here, several weeks ago carrying relief to the Indians

C. D. Lewis and R. L. Padilla took the tractor and a truck and broke the road to Star Lake, Pueblo Bonito and Buck's store. The worst part was that on the return trip, the work had to be done all over again, on account of high winds drifting the roads full of snow again.

February began with more snow. Shiprock, at a lower elevation, was not hit as hard by the recurring storms. One trader wrote the Farmington newspaper suggesting that the stories of hardships were exaggerated, while a news story from that agency, although deploring the traders' losses due to the low price of lambs, expected benefits to accrue from the winter's onslaught (282):

Sometimes good arises from misfortune. Though the losses of livestock on the reservation will be large, in the end a benefit will result. The reservation has long been overstocked and pasturage has become pitifully scant. With much less grazing, the range will be built up and the result will be better and bigger stock. The government officials have long been considering ways and means to bring about this result, and now Dame Nature steps in and cruelly but effectively sets the stage.

Snow continued to hamper travel through the region. The February 12 issue of the newspaper noted that W. C. Rollins, and probably his son-in-law Gus Griffin as well, had been stranded in Farmington for 2 or 3 weeks, being unable to get any closer to Pueblo Bonito than the Otis store (283). Navajos were able to get to Crownpoint from places within a radius of 30 miles or so, but many had to come on foot, the snow being so deep that even wagons could not get through (284). Griffin was finally forced to go around by way of Crownpoint to reach his Chaco home (285).

By the end of February, efforts began to make an evaluation of the extent of losses during the winter. Stacher found that near Crownpoint and Togay, herds had been reduced some 10 to 12 percent (286). In March, J. C. Morgan wrote a letter to the editor which was published under the headlines "Are the Navajos Really Suffering?" Morgan's observations undoubtedly reflected the view from Shiprock (287):

Now are the Navajos really suffering? There may be a few, but as a tribe, they are not. Of course it is

very unfortunate just at this time of depression we should have had such a hard winter. Sheep are not all dead, but what are left now could be bred up again to the best of sheep. In the meantime, our Indian friends must go on ahead and do their best under the circumstances, and by all means do more farming on all available land and everything will come out alright (sic).

A little later, Lopez could report from Kimbeto that losses in his district would not exceed 20 percent, at least for sheep and goats. However, horses had not fared as well, and for the Eastern Navajo agency as a whole equine losses were estimated at 40 percent (288). White stockmen were organizing a San Juan County Emergency Livestock Feed Loan Advisory Committee to aid themselves in obtaining Government loans to overcome their losses (289). However, the Navajos do not seem to have benefited from this effort. At a meeting held at the Carson trading post on March 21, both Stacher and Morgan could only advise increased planting, conservation of corn supplies, and more careful weaving. The Government would help with agricultural equipment. Some Government jobs became available. The Kimbeto station was to be moved, and culverts were to be installed on the road to Pueblo Bonito (290).

Navajo-white animosity had been forgotten, or at least submerged, during the winter crisis, but at least one incident was recorded in the spring. H. M. Ogle, a settler living about 15 miles west of Star Lake, shot four sheep belonging to Mrs. Ignacio Luis, a Navajo woman, on the last day of March. There was an investigation by the agency, but no report of further action taken is known (291).

The overall result of the winter appears to have been a gain by the white stockmen in relation to the Navajos. James M. Stewart, testifying in 1936, believed the Navajo stock losses in the Kimbeto and Blanco areas had exceeded 50 percent. He noted that the whites had been better able to get feed to their herds during the storms, and had been in a better position to replace their losses when conditions improved (292a). According to one source, many Navajos had been reduced to gathering the wool from dead sheep to exchange for groceries that spring (292b). In general, the traders of the checker-board country seem to have felt that the Navajos did suffer severe privations as a result of the hard winter (293a)(293b).

The efforts of Stacher and Morgan to stimulate increased planting as a way of offsetting losses of livestock had effect, for the ground was well moistened by the melting snow. Stacher

made good on his promises of assistance, distributing tools through the chapters, and purchasing some mules to help overcome the shortage of horses. Potatoes, beans, corn, and oats were the major crops put in (294). At Chaco, planned stabilization work had to be delayed until the Navajo masons had sowed their corn (295). The price of wool continued low; the highest price reported at Farmington by the latter part of May was 8¢ a pound (296).

Hurst Julian was serving as custodian for the National Park Service, and the trading post at Pueblo Bonito had a new manager, "Colonel" Springstead (297).

The land-exchange work had been resumed. Mark Radcliff was at work on the matter as early as April at Crownpoint (298). Frank B. Lenzie, Bureau of Indian Affairs range supervisor, made an inspection of range conditions in June. He estimated Navajo holdings outside the reservation at 185,000 sheep and goats; 3,200 cattle; and 5,000 horses. In spite of the winter moisture, he judged the Navajo range to be overgrazed, and reported good pasturage only on the white-controlled lands northeast of Crownpoint (299).

Stacher was also involved in land matters again. In June, he reported in detail on the holdings of I. K. Westbrook, who was leasing the railroad lands in T20N, R12W, and had filed for a stock-raising homestead on about 475 acres in section 18 of the same township. He also had a homestead tract in T20N, R13W (300a)(300b). James M. Stewart had also been assigned to work on the consolidation effort, holding meetings with local people so as to obtain agreement for the boundary extension (301).

In Stacher's annual report for 1932--probably written in June for submission at the end of the fiscal year--he was optimistic, for he was getting cooperation on land relinquishments and lieu selections, and had been able to negotiate purchases of "substantial areas." There were almost 200,000 acres under lease for Navajo use, but he expected the consolidation of land to greatly reduce the need to lease in the near future (302).

At Chaco, Springstead was reported to be fattening lambs for market (303). It is uncertain whether this brought him into competition with his Navajo customers for the grass and browse in the canyon area or he was feeding the stock on fodder hauled in from elsewhere.

A more serious threat to Navajo interests was a continued sentiment among whites for "developing" the country. The attraction of more white settlers was thought necessary. An interesting example of this desire appeared in a long story in the Farmington newspaper on June 3. Written by Orville Ricketts, it gave an extended account of the history of Star Lake, based in part on local oral tradition from both whites and Navajos. His treatment of Navajo subjects was generally sympathetic, but his tendency to a boosterism, which was obviously intended to promote increased white desire for the lands of the region, could produce little good for Navajo interests. In addition to noting the prospects of gas and oil discoveries, he described the range in glowing terms (304):

The Star Lake district is one of the finest stock grazing sections in this part of the state. Hundreds of thousands of acres of rolling land are covered with thickly set grass and sagebrush grows everywhere. There is very little broken or waste land. The biggest drawback to the development of this section is the normal lack of water. This year, however, there are many small lakes from the winter snows, but water-holes are not usually very numerous. Geologists report there is ample water supply at a thousand feet depth, and when economic conditions are readjusted, there will be a number of water wells put down

. . . The greatest natural resource of the Star Lake section, however, is its exceptionally fine range that will afford grazing for many more herds than are now feeding there.

Stacher's report on economic conditions among the Navajos at the end of the fiscal year was far less cheerful than his hopes for land consolidation. There were no jobs, and no market for lambs. He had received two carloads of flour for distribution, giving it outright to the old and sick, and exchanging it for labor with the able-bodied. Payment for sheep-dipping had to be taken in old ewes and wethers, and as a result he found himself with more sheep than the schools could use. He also reported several cases of theft of livestock, in which the culprits had been apprehended and sent to the penitentiary (305).

Stacher was in agreement with Lenzie's assessment of range conditions, advocating a reduction of 50 percent of Navajo stock as a necessity to reach carrying capacity (306). It is apparent that Rickett's description of the range was not accurate.

Stacher's figures relating to progress in political organization are also significant. Twenty-two chapters had been organized in his jurisdiction, of which 10 had completed chapter houses and another two had houses under construction. Monthly meetings were held, and attendance by BIA officials was as regular as other duties permitted. He visualized the chapters primarily as a means of furthering adult education and organizing bureau projects (307).

By July, Hewett and his students were back at work at Chetro Ketl (308). He undoubtedly supplied a few jobs for the local Navajos, as did the Park Service stabilization project. The annual Fourth of July Enemyway took place with trading-post sponsorship. Brush shelters and tents were erected across the wash at the usual site, and Julian included the full turnout in his report on monument visitation. He also salvaged the brush and poles left behind for construction of a ramada near Pueblo Bonito for the use of tourists. Springstead bought the trading post, and may have made extra efforts at the celebration to encourage continued patronage now that the business was his own (309a)(309b).

Land-consolidation became a major issue in July. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads was in Santa Fe shortly before the Navajo Tribal Council meeting that month, and expected the land problem to be one of the more important items on the council's agenda. He maintained that the Navajos' stock was in good shape in spite of the bad winter, contrasting the Navajos' losses with those of the Jicarilla Apaches, who had lost 20,000 sheep out of a herd of only 27,000 (310).

The council met on July 7 and 8 at Fort Wingate (311). Morgan's opposition to the land-exchanges was vehement. A letter that he wrote to the editor of the Times-Hustler during the meetings shows well how he linked this opposition to his own strong assimilationist philosophy (312):

. . . I want to say right here that aside from seeing some frightful conditions on the reservation, I am still firmly convinced that the greatest need-----by our people IS NOT MORE LAND, but DEVELOPMENT of more water, etc. Your sheep and cattle men know very well that sheep and cattle cannot live without water (,) not any more than you can. I want my friends to understand me that if you get more land, it will mean ruination to our people, because as long as you think about obtaining more land, you will NEVER settle down to make permanent homes, but you will continue to lead a nomadic life for another hundred years or so.

. . . Shall we lead them to better health by encouraging the improvement of homes and health conditions, or shall we let the people live and die on more land without the improvement of homes?

It certainly is almost useless to try to discuss some of these most important matters with the unprogressives

Another matter the writer discussed was the paying of grazing fees by all the Navajos for all their sheep, cattle and horses. The council, however, did not take action on this matter, but some day they will understand. I hope the next council will be composed mostly of educated men, who understand these things.

The white stockmen were finding ranching a precarious business in the Chaco country--one that could not provide the standard of living they sought. Wales Smith applied for the position of stockman with the Eastern Navajo agency. In recommending him for the appointment, Senator Sam G. Bratton wrote (313):

. . . Mr. Smith who, with his partner brother, W. C. Smith, run cattle north of Crownpoint. They have bred up their herd until they are now running the best cattle in McKinley County. Mr. Smith is a well-read cattleman as well as a sheep man. He has had years of experience, has made a success in the business for himself, but now, since prices have been so unfavorable, he must get a job. There is no high school at Crownpoint and he has children of that age to take care of. If he can get this job, he will be located only five miles from Thoreau where his children can attend school.

The influx of whites into the region was leading to the establishment of small public elementary schools. There were enough non-Navajos at Chaco Canyon that a school was opened there in September, with Springstead's wife as teacher (314). An effort was made to enroll 10 Navajo students to help support the project, but the funds did not become available until late in October, which was too late to do any good (315-318). Tyler was assigned to build a dormitory at Star Lake, so that Navajo children could attend the public school there (319).

Light summer rains began in July at Chaco (320). Really good rains did not come until the following month. A downpour

on the night of August 10 again took out the approaches to the Chaco bridge, and washed all the dirt off the steep road entering the canyon from the north. The runoff took "great chunks" of the arroyo walls as well (321a)(321b).

Hewett's field season ended about the beginning of August, but he left Paul Reiter and Gordon Vivian to do some additional work at Chetro Ketl (322). Whether or not this work involved any Navajo employees is uncertain.

Navajo-white relations were quite brittle, as indicated by an incident at Shiprock on August 9. A Navajo hitchhiker was killed in a traffic accident, and a Navajo mob soon formed, intent on lynching the driver of the truck in which he was riding. They were dissuaded with considerable difficulty, citing as justification the lynching of a Navajo some years previous. According to the report, this earlier lynching had taken place at Aztec (323). However, it is probable that the hanging of Santiago Platero was the event that the mob had in mind.

Sheep-dipping took place in the Eastern Navajo jurisdiction in August under Tyler's supervision, with two veterinarians from the Bureau of Animal Husbandry inspecting the herds. It was reported that herds had been free of scabies for several years (324). However, sheep from the reservation had been under quarantine by the state, and the Eastern Navajo sheep were probably also included in the restriction. It is uncertain whether scabies had actually been found among Navajo sheep, or white owners were again spreading rumors of the disease to promote their own interests. In any case, the quarantine was lifted on September 24 after no disease had been found "for the past several months" (325).

Range conditions were good, and the lamb crop large and healthy, but reduced in numbers as a result of losses during the preceding winter (326). Navajo flocks averaged about 13 percent less than in 1931 (327). Sales were brisk; in one week at the beginning of November, 175 carloads of sheep and lambs were shipped out from Farmington. One of the major buyers was the Pueblo Alto trading post (328). In spite of the demand, prices received were low (329).

The harvest was apparently good. Stacher sponsored fairs at the various chapters throughout the fall. Kimbeto and Huerfano combined to hold their fair at the Huerfano chapter house on September 21; Pueblo Alto and Star Lake held theirs 2 days later at the Star Lake Store; Lake Valley and Storey Butte were scheduled for October 11 at the Storey Butte chapter house; and White House

at their chapter house on October 12 (330). About 500 Navajos attended the fair at Huerfano (331).

Upgrading of Navajo sheep was still an objective of the agency. Stacher ordered 300 lambs that fall, mostly Rambouillet, but also a few of other breeds for experimental use in the agency herd (332).

The fall ceremonies began in October. The first Nightway noted by the Farmington newspaper was held near the end of the month at Sanostee (333). There was a Mountainway at Sheep Springs about a month later (334); however, minor epidemics of flu and scarlet fever doubtless kept attendance down (335a-335c). Stacher instituted work on the road through Seven Lakes and Star Lake to provide some much-needed employment, and 100 to 150 Navajos were engaged in the work from November into December in an effort to complete the construction before winter weather should force a halt (336a)(336b).

The increasing number of motor vehicles owned by Navajos is reflected in a rise in the number of accidents involving Navajo drivers. In August, a one-car accident near Nava (present-day Newcomb) resulted in injury to three Navajos from Gallup. One of those involved, Robert Piochee, was probably a member of a Chaco family (337). Another accident in November caused the death of old Platero, a former scout in the Crownpoint area (338).

The autumn influx of sheep was probably the event that brought a problem regarding the ruins to Julian's attention, for he did not identify the herders as Navajo. As quoted by Pinkley, he wrote (339):

It is my opinion that the greatest damage which is now being done to the ruins on the monument is being done by the sheep and shep (sic) herders. If it were possible for me to leave headquarters area I would roughly survey all the monument boundaries and place a white post about every one thousand feet along the boundary line. On this post would be a placed a courteous but firm request that no sheep be driven into the monument area. In inclement weather, our ruins make excellent camping places for the herders. They also make admirable bed grounds for the sheep. WALLS WILL NOT LAST LONG if sheep and goats are permitted to clambor (sic) over them at will. In the winter time, Mr. Griffin has been able to keep the sheep out of the major ruins in the bottom of the

canyon and near his home. He does this out of his interest and cooperation with our Service and gets no pay for it.

Custodian Julian left the last week in November, closing the monument for the winter (340). He had made the first proposal--a very tentative one--that stock be excluded from the monument.

A far more serious threat to Navajo land use was the development of formal opposition to a reservation extension in Farmington. The Chamber of Commerce held a special meeting on December 20 to permit Stacher to present the proposal in detail. A large number of white ranchers, both sheepmen and cattlemen, attended the gathering. The editor of the local newspaper summarized developments after the withdrawal from entry had been proclaimed (341):

The railroads have since traded some of their checker-board holdings for lands where their acreage could be consolidated into large areas. The Indian lands were also grouped together wherever possible. Then the Indian department advanced a proposal to add to the Navajo Reservation a strip twelve miles wide east and west extending south 60 miles thru San Juan County and into McKinley county along the east side of the so-called proclamation reservation strip. This is due south of Farmington.

Since the Indian department and the railroads in exchanging lands located the Indian holdings in McKinley county in the area of the proposed reservation extension, no problem was left to McKinley County in handling the matter. Six townships in San Juan County are in the same status. But the proposed extension involved ten additional townships on public domain where there are comparatively few Indian allotments. For this reason the matter was presented to San Juan County people for their consideration.

The meeting voted to oppose the extension, and adjourned without further action. The editor thought their action was proper, but believed that a committee should have been appointed to work out some sort of compromise (341).

The year ended with a Christmas party at the Chaco trading post, where toys and candy were distributed to the Navajo

children (342), and with a snowstorm. One white sheepman caught in drifts on his way back to Farmington was rescued by a Navajo family, and spent the night in their hogan. When they brought him to town the next day, he rewarded them with some groceries and feed for their horses (343).

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Chapter 9

THE COLLIER ERA: 1933-1945

The most significant event for the future of the Navajos in 1932 was the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President of the United States. It does not seem to have been recognized by them as particularly important at the time--but the effects of the New Deal would not be long in reaching Navajo country.

The early events of 1933 were prosaic. Stacher complained that Lope's Government pickup was worn out by 4 years of service on the rough roads of the Chaco country, and not worth repairing. Lope had been forced to use his own car to carry out his duties as stockman. The superintendent wanted funds to get a new vehicle (1). Pitt drove a herd of his cattle to market early in January, passing Crownpoint on the way (2). Perhaps the change in administration in Washington had already stimulated the economy a bit, and brought better prices for beef, as it had for wool (3). The early winter was clear and cold with little snow (4).

A leading contender for the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the new administration was John Collier. He had both supporters and opponents among the Navajos, but one of the Tribe's most active politicians, J. C. Morgan, was strongly against his appointment (5a) (5b). However, Morgan's influence was strong only on the Tribal level, and his opinions did not alter the course of events in the Nation's Capital.

There was a mention early in February of an "Escavada Ranch" which employed white cowboys (6). Exactly where this was is uncertain, but obviously the Navajos had not managed to control even this drainage in its entirety. In the same month, it was reported that Setzer had a sheep and cattle range of his own (7), probably near his Pueblo Alto trading post, where he would be competing for grass with his Navajo customers.

The land problem was becoming ever more entwined with that of overgrazing. About the middle of the month, the superintendents of the various Navajo agencies held a meeting at Shiprock and recommended the elimination of all goats as a means of reducing the over-exploitation of the range (8).

Hurst Julian was back at Chaco in January. The growing concern for over-use of the range had gripped his imagination, and combining this worry with his fear of destruction of the ruins, he was becoming increasingly adamant that the monument should be closed to livestock. Together with O. J. Berry, a mining engineer for the Bureau of Land Management, Julian had been assigned the job of examining railroad lands still within the monument boundaries and lieu lands for which these might be exchanged, giving the National Park Service control of almost all land within the authorized limits of the monument.

The first sections visited were 17 and 19 in T21N, R11W, in the southwestern portion of the park. According to the description written (10):

. . . The vegetation consists of native grasses. The scattering growth of cedar (sic) has been cut by the Indians and there is no commercial timber The land has been leased for grazing The area has been overgrazed and the grazing value injured by the sheep owned by Mr. Sargent and goats owned by the Indians. The cattle of Mr. Kirk grazed the lands at times. There is no live water on the sections. No water has been developed by building shallow tanks.

The next day, January 22, was spent inspecting section 9 in the same township. This section crosses the main canyon just below Casa Chiquita. The observations were much the same; it was noted that Sargent had the section under lease, and that it was being grazed by four or five herds of Navajo goats.

On the following day, section 1 in the same township and section 7, T21N, R10W, were visited. The first of these includes the upper half of Clys Canyon, and the second includes the mesa-top east of Pueblo Alto ruin. These sections were apparently not leased, and both were described as overgrazed by sheep and goats. A road and two occupied hogans were recorded in section 1. The latter were undoubtedly the homes of Dan Cly and his daughter's family, but Julian did not name any Indians in his report.

On January 25, they went on to section 19, T21N, R10W, covering the eastern half of South Mesa. This section was leased by Sargent, and was described as overgrazed by sheep and goats.

Recommendations for the sections included some additional data. Sargent's sheep grazed the lands in the winter and spring, while the Navajos' flocks were on the land the year round.

The arroyo was growing each year, and threatened to destroy Pueblo del Arroyo. Approval of the exchange was urged as important for the Park Service (10).

Julian saw the Navajos as a threat to the monument, but Jeanne Griffin, acting custodian for the winter, found little but Navajo events to mention in her report to Pinkley for February (11):

The only visitors I have had about Pueblo Bonito were Hosteen Nez and his family. We spent a pleasant afternoon covering every nook and corner of the ruin. Never have I had such appreciative and interested visitors as the Nez family. Hosteen Nez particularly was a fluent talker and told me some quaint stories (Navajo myths dealing with the ruins of the Chaco) one of which I recently found in Pepper's Report, published in 1920. This story was identical to one told me by Hosteen Nez and concerned Pueblo Alto on the north mesa. This ruin, he said, was occupied by the chief who was the headman over all the inhabitants of the Chaco. I have since checked up on the story and find little variation in it; it seems to be a common belief among the Navajos of this vicinity at least.

There have been any number of Indian "sings" in the canyon. These have been to drive out evil spirits which made their appearance some months ago. So Navajo traffic has been heavy up and down the whole length of the Canyon.

I want to inform you that Hosteen and Hosteen-ess Waleto are the proud parents of a baby girl.

About the end of the month, Wales Smith received an appointment as stockman with the agency--however, not at Thoreau, but at the agency farm about 4 miles west of Crownpoint (12). On the 13th, work on the road to Star Lake was resumed (13a) (13b). Wool prices continued to rise (14).

The news that the Bureau of Indian Affairs wanted the Navajos to get rid of their goats was being taken to the chapter meetings, and arousing objections on the part of the owners (15). Support for stock-reduction was already increasing among Government officials by the time John Collier, who was to become the foremost proponent of this policy, took office as Commissioner of Indian Affairs that spring.

The support for reducing livestock was not limited to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor directed against Navajo owners only. Julian was back at Pueblo Bonito as custodian in April, and was soon involved in efforts to clear the monument of all grazing. In addition to the land exchange, he had arranged with the state research institutions for delegation of authority over grazing on their lands in the monument, and had convinced the Crownpoint agency that they should move out the Navajos who had large herds on the monument (16).

Julian's greatest concern seems to have been how to deal with Sargent. The railway wanted to retain the grazing rights to four sections in the eastern end of the monument for leasing to Sargent, who maintained that he needed these rights in order to have a stock driveway between his lands to the north and south. Julian went over the land and found that the driveway crossed only one of these sections, and the rest of the passage was over Park Service lands. He hoped to use Sargent's need for the right-of-way over the Government land as a bargaining wedge to eliminate the lease (17).

In spite of the recent rise in the price of wool, the traders had little confidence in the market. Navajo rugs were not selling, and mohair had dropped to 3¢ per pound (18a) (18b). However, wool continued to go up into May (19a) (19b).

Early in April, a 2-day meeting of chapter officers was held at Crownpoint to promote stock-reduction and various other Government programs for erosion-control and economic development. According to Morgan, who attended the gathering, the BIA proposals were well received (20).

The Kimbeto chapter house--the only one to be built of adobe--was nearing completion, and was scheduled for dedication on April 22 (21).

The elimination of goats was arousing opposition. Early in May, the Returned Students Association, which Morgan had helped organize, discussed the matter, and argued that the people needed at least a few goats for each family to supply milk (22).

Toward the end of the month, the Federal Government announced public-works programs that would provide jobs for several thousand people in New Mexico. Indians were to get 2,100 of these; 800 were to be allotted to the Northern Navajo agency. Fewer would be available to the Eastern Navajos because of their non-reservation status. Those living off the reservation would have to compete with other ethnic groups for their jobs (23). However, enrollment for conservation camps did begin early in June at

Crownpoint (24). Precisely how the various regulations affected participation of the checker-board Navajos in the different programs is rather unclear in the available documentation.

Political changes took place in the Tribe as well as in the Nation. Thomas Dodge, son of Henry Chee Dodge, was elected chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council; Robert Pioche was elected president of the Returned Students Association (25).

Julian found time in June to write an account of the mystery of the Anasazi abandonment of Chaco Canyon for the Farmington newspaper. He cited a Navajo tradition reported by Judd in which their ancestors had driven out the pueblo-dwellers, who then fled to the Zuni country, and he presented arguments against accepting the story (26). Julian's own war against the sheep was having some success. In his monthly report for June he wrote (27):

What I personally consider the greatest single achievement since I have been at Chaco has been the removal of the sheep from the Monument. We hope for a great benefit to be derived from this action, providing of course we will be able to patrol the forty miles of boundary and keep them out.

Without a fence, Julian's victory would be temporary. In addition, the director of the National Park Service, at the request of the railway, had made commitments to Sargent, about which Julian learned only after writing his report. A letter already in the mails soon arrived, informing him that Sargent would be allowed to use sections 23, 25, 27, and 29, T21N, R10W, in the eastern part of the monument, for 10 years following their transfer from the railway to the Park Service. The stock driveway was guaranteed by the act establishing the monument. Thus, Sargent would have both rights (28). Julian quickly wrote Pinkley a strong protest (29):

As you will discover by a review of the correspondence on this matter, there is no actual value to these sections as grazing property. All the grass which could be reached by sheep has long since been destroyed. Also it is true that Mr. Sargent has for years been running over the lands of this monument without legal or moral right. The damage which he has done is practically too much to estimate. Further, he cannot cross the Chaco, exchange or no exchange, unless we give him permission to do so. The Railway Co. has never owned the lands which would permit him to do so.

What Mr. Sargent wants is to retain the grazing rights for these four sections in order that he may have a hold upon the lands of the monument so that he may continue to do as he has always done, graze all of it illegally.

. . . .

Since Mr. Collinson has informed the Park Service that he and Mr. Sargent will decide what we are to give them, I am turning the matter over to you

The wider-spread land problem was the subject of a meeting held in Gallup on July 1. Traders, ranchers, and Farmington business representatives discussed the proposed boundary bill with J. M. Stewart and Mark Radcliff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. An agreement was reached by which four townships south of Farmington would be excluded from the reservation extension. And, at the request of Kelsey Presley, stockman and McKinley County commissioner, the bill would permit ranchers within the extension to remain on their lands until they were actually purchased by the Government, and would allow them 6 months to vacate after purchase.

In addition, a committee representing the Farmington Chamber of Commerce, the stockmen, and the Indian Service would conduct a survey on the ground to make any other minor adjustments necessary. However, hints of continued opposition were evident. Mrs. H. B. Sammons, president of the First National Bank at Farmington, read a statement asking the Government to develop the lands that the Indians already had rather than giving them more, alleging that Farmington was about to be "hemmed in" by Indian lands on all sides, with Navajos to the south and west, Utes to the north, and Jicarillas on the east (30).

At Chaco, Hewett's crew was back in the field about June 24 (31). The Fourth of July celebration began early, with one night of an Enemyway being held near Pueblo Bonito on the second. Two accounts of the event survive. The description of the Squaw Dance that night, written by Dorothy Keur is particularly good (32):

. . . Men congregated apart and sang many songs . . . religious in character according to my informant (Iola) . . . (I noted) the many tired horses, the many queer types of vehicles covered wagons, etc which brought this company of Navajos together. At last, after a

few hours, the main event began. This is purely a social event. The women came filing in . . . the group of singers and drummers took their place near the fire The women stealthily crept up behind the male victims they desired, snatched their belts and they were obliged to dance. The dance consisted of the woman dancing around with small mincing steps, using the man as a pivot. A dizzying experience, many a white man testified. The man was finally released after paying off his fair partner. This went on most of the night. Some very young girls danced. Their mothers pushed them in the direction of a white man usually, (perhaps because he would probably pay better). Many of these small girls, really just children, looked a bit frightened but always obeyed. I saw several run quickly to their mothers with the money as soon as payed. The older girls, however, seemed much more interested in choosing partners from their own group

The custodian's comments are also of interest (33):

It seems likely that the squaw dance is beneficial to the amity of the often conflicting cultures. It is here that the two races meet upon an apparent basis of good will and equality. The only instance which I can call to mind at present. At least there is some understanding

Navajo-white relations were probably not quite as bad as Julian would seem to imply, but a combination of impending stock-reduction, efforts at land consolidation and extension of the reservation in which the Navajos had little voice, Julian's own campaign against the grazing on the monument, and the economic stresses of the Depression made the Navajos distrustful of whites in general.

Stacher was doing his best to make the New Deal programs benefit the people under his jurisdiction. By mid-July he had three "emergency work camps" established. (34). One was at Standing Rock; another was at Navajo Church, apparently present-day Church Rock. Mariano Lake was apparently the location of the third. About a week later, sheep-dipping began. Summer rains left the range in good condition, and grazing was expected to be good into the winter (35a) (35b). Rather dramatic relief seemed in sight when Secretary of the Interior Ickes ordered fences removed from the public domain, thereby opening the range to small stockmen (36). The Farmington newspaper quickly published

an editorial presenting the white stockmen's arguments against this policy (37).

An insight into Julian's thoughts on sheep appears in a letter from the ranger at El Morro National Monument (38):

Just had some visitors . . . who had been at Chaco and were sold on the idea by Hurst Julian that the grazing of sheep was the cause of forming deserts and that they should be run out of the country. Hurst must have been waxing eloquent on the subject, because they were enthusiastic about the idea, but surely Hurst knows that there are a number of other factors contributing to desert formation in addition to the one of overgrazing - especially of sheep.

While Julian's policies may have caused problems for the local Navajos, he had established good relations with the agency. Early in July, Stacher wrote him about plans for building a road from Thoreau through Crownpoint and Chaco to highway 44, hoping to arrange a division of responsibility between the state, the BIA, and the Park Service for various portions of the route. He also offered to enroll Navajo children in the school at Chaco if the county school superintendent would set tuition within the limits of what Washington would approve. At the same time, he urged that the Park Service complete the purchase of the old Wello allotment from the heirs (39). Pinkley had recently announced the allocation of \$265,000 for work on roads and erosion-control at Chaco once the question of ownership of the land within the monument's boundaries was settled, a fact that had been published only 3 days earlier (40). Stacher hoped that a part of the money might be used to buy the allotment and to build a fair share of the road (41). Deed blanks had been made out for the sale, and all that was needed to complete the transaction was the money, variously reported as \$300 or \$600 (42a) (42b). Julian was asked to submit a map of the area involved (43). However, no further action was taken.

Conflicts over grazing in the Chaco area continued. In August it was reported that Emory Burnham's cattle had trespassed on Navajo allotments in T19N, R13W. David Bicenti drove them off, and the cattle went into the next township north, which I. K. Westbrook had under lease. As a result, Bicenti was being prosecuted by the state (44).

On August 12, the bureau announced that their proposal for the reservation extension was ready for presentation to Congress. Three townships south of Farmington were to be omitted from the area requested (45).

About the middle of August, an emergency work-camp was established near Kimbeto, said to be the first located north of Chaco Canyon (46).

Julian continued his war on the sheep. He also had ideas for the use of a part of the money that would soon be available. He spoke of (47)

. . . the need for the exclusion of the sheep from this monument. For years they have had free run of it. Our ruins have been repeatedly used as sheep corrals. Much of our erosion problem could be laid at the figurative door of this condition. This can be easily stopped. People will keep their sheep off this property if we will post the lines so that they will know what to keep off of. One thousand dollars will enable me to survey the lines and place a row of posts completely around our outside boundary.

By agreement with the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, I have been given complete charge of the matter of grazing on their properties. A miniature Mussolini, as it were, of the grazing of this region. With this agreement in force, the State Institutions, will welcome action on our part, and will offer no complications by reason of the Park Service having closed our outside boundaries and incidentally having closed theirs also. Our land surrounds their holdings

Julian also continued his complaints against Sargent, hoping to block his acquisition of even limited rights to run stock within the boundaries (48):

For years he (Sargent) has . . . "gutted" the entire monument property with his sheep. It will cost thousands of dollars to correct the damage and . . . erosion problems which he has caused at least in part, the Indians being responsible for the remainder

The white stockmen were active in defending their interests. Toward the end of August it was reported that the state Democrats were trying to persuade Ickes to reverse his fencing order (49). In September, the Association of San Juan Taxpayers and others sent protests of the reservation extension through the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior (50).

The rainy season gathered strength into September, washing out many roads on the reservation (51). The rains continued into the early part of the following month (52).

A report from Shiprock noted the appearance of the Circle Dance, replacing the old style of dancing at Enemyway in that area (53). In view of the slightly earlier descriptions of the Squaw Dance as performed at Chaco Canyon that same summer, which omit any mention of the Circle Dance, the date of its appearance seems fairly well established, but the rate of its spread and the question of whether it was accompanied by any ideological concepts is not answered.

The emergency work-camps were equipped for occupancy through the winter during October (54). Julian and Springstead did some work on the road at Chaco Canyon, in the process supplying short-term employment for five Navajos (55). The Navajos were busy with their fall lamb sales, and the rather indifferent pinyon crop was left for the children to gather (56). The winter ceremonials began with a Mountainway at the O. J. Carson trading post; the Corral Dance was held on October 21, and a Nightway culminated on the same night at Smith Lake (57a) (57b). An Indian Service inspector noted that L. G. Setzer had his trading post on a Navajo allotment, but had no trading license, and he was unable to learn whether any arrangements had been made with the allottees (58).

A crucial meeting of the Navajo Tribal Council was held in Tuba City October 30 to November 1. Collier attended the sessions, and made a commitment to obtain more land for the Tribe if the stock-reduction proposals were approved. The council accepted the bargain. Quotas were set; a reduction of 15,000 wethers and ewes was set as the share for the Eastern Navajo agency (59-61). Stacher worked through the chapters, assigning quotas to each, which the chapter officers apportioned among the families of their areas (62).

In the meantime, progress was made on the boundary bill. The San Juan County Commission refused to take action to either oppose or support the bill. Stacher, however, met with a committee of stockmen on November 15 to go over the ground and arrange further compromises (63). By this time 10,000 lambs had been sold under the terms of the Tuba City agreements. Even J. C. Morgan was supporting the reduction program at this time (64). The reasons for the sales were mixed, and possibly poorly understood by the Navajos. In addition to the objective of reducing overgrazing, the meat was to be used for the relief of the poor in other parts of the country, both in the cities and on the northern Indian reservations (65a) (65b). As a

result, most sheep sold were lambs that would have been marketed in any case if there had been a demand for them (66). The sheep were collected at holding-corral and herded to the railroads. Those from the Northern Navajo jurisdiction were shipped from Farmington; most from the Eastern Navajo came from Thoreau. However, by the middle of December it was reported that the Navajos were not anxious to sell more (67a-67c). The big ceremonies of the season were well underway, and mention in the press of Ye'ibicheis and Fire Dances was frequent (68a-68c). In spite of these obstacles, John Tyler left for Denver with several carloads of sheep (69).

There was sufficient wage-work to keep the Navajos from desperation, but most of it was in Government jobs provided for this purpose. The Navajos, who had been so long subject to the shifting whims of Washington, undoubtedly felt a real importance in maintaining their herds for the time when the jobs should end. The completion of the road to Star Lake was accomplished under the public-works program about the end of November, and the crews were then put to work on a road to the proposed day-school locations in the Storey Butte area (70). Chaco Canyon was allocated over \$29,000 to employ 114 men. Most employed were probably whites, for it was specified only that they be from San Juan County (71a) (71b). Ruins-stabilization was a part of the work, and for this, Navajos, whose experience in working on the ruins went back several years, were hired (72). Navajo masons were soon at work on Chetro Ketl, repairing breaks in the back wall and rebuilding the bench of the great kiva (73). It is probable that Springstead helped in signing up these first Navajos to work under the program (74).

Julian had prepared a map that showed the lands outside the monument to be controlled by Sargent. The map showed over 27 sections in T21N, R9W, R10W, and R11W (75). The purpose of the map is uncertain, but it undoubtedly related in some way to efforts to control grazing within the monument boundaries. Another project undertaken with the money--one advocated by Julian previously was a survey and marking of the monument boundary. Gordon Vivian, who apparently supervised this work, was as fully opposed to sheep as the custodian, and his description of the grazing damage was similar to Julian's, but he attributed most of the harm to the Navajos living on the monument (76).

The workers on the survey-and-marking project were undoubtedly whites. Men from Farmington, Fruitland, and Kirtland got jobs at the canyon. The editor of the Farmington newspaper wrote an editorial complaining of attempts by McKinley County people to obtain work there (77a) (77b). By mid-month, even Jeanne Griffin was writing the editor to let it be known that a

McKinley County cowboy was overseeing the work and that many of the workers had California and Colorado license plates (78). Julian's monthly report for January confirmed the reports that many of the workers came from outside San Juan County (79). The number of local people on the monument projects--whether Navajo or otherwise--was obviously limited.

Shiprock had filled its quota of sheep purchases early in January (80). The Eastern Navajo agency was still trying to complete its buying. A fifth shipment of stock was not sent to Denver until about the beginning of February (81).

Development under special Federal programs was slow. A proposed irrigation project for Lake Valley was still in the planning stage in February (82). Day-schools planned for Lake Valley and Pueblo Pintado depended on the purchase of land from allottees at both places. In all, four allottees sold 10 acres each, and were paid \$25 for each tract. Those at Pueblo Pintado were purchased in February and March, and those at Lake Valley in August (83a-83c). The delays in jobs and the hiring of many outside whites may have caused some of the growing ill feeling toward stock-reduction. A letter written in the name of the Pueblo Alto chapter expressed the people's concerns, although it was probably drafted with the help of the Counselors at their trading post at the request of only a few of the chapter members. It was addressed directly to President Roosevelt (84):

. . . Every time we have asked for help in the past we only get promises and we cannot buy flour with promises. We are a forgotten people. We cannot take our sheep, horses & family and look for a new range, as we did in the old day, cause there isn't any new range for us; we are closed in on all sides

This country we live in has always been our home we have been made to do many things that we don't understand--things which we know are not good for us.

. . . .

A few years ago we had to sell lots of our horses because they told us our horses ate up too much grass. We sold them and more grass grew alright (sic), but also more white men drove sheep into our country & ate up the grass our horses used to eat--in other words, we Navajos bought grass for the white mans sheep & now we haven't any horses. This year they tell us we must sell a certain % of our sheep. When

we ask why, they tell us we have too many sheep for our range--we ask why don't the white men sell some of their sheep 'cause they use the same range, if the range is so overstocked? Then they say Washington wants us to sell the sheep to help some other poor people that live up north. We Navajos are too poor ourselves to help some other poor people.

We ask for work, but they tell us we must sell our sheep first, tho some of us have done so & didn't get any work. But our old men say, if we sell our sheep it will be just like when we sold our horses & more white men will drive sheep into this range and eat up the grass we saved

The letter asked that the region be made reservation, and that an objective man be sent to look into conditions (84).

The letter was sent to Stacher, and an explanation was requested. Stacher investigated the matter personally, and had Lope make visits to families in the area in search of any that were starving. The letter was apparently written by someone at the Counselor trading post who signed with the names of a large number of people in the Pueblo Alto area by using a list. It was inaccurate in many details. Many of the men in the area had been provided with jobs on reservoir construction, road-building, and other work, and Stacher stated that almost \$20,000 had been paid in wages in that area. He added that some of these Navajos had also managed to get jobs on the Jicarilla Apache reservation. However, Lope, and Rafael Mescalito, the chapter president, did find some families who had not had employment, and jobs were offered them, and accepted.

Stacher did agree with the letter regarding the land situation, and gave more detailed information on land use (85):

. . . The Indians in the Pueblo Alto country are not at all satisfied with the amount of land that is to be given them in the boundary bill in the immediate vicinity of Pueblo Alto to the west, which is located in Township 20N, Range 8 West, for the reason that they have some valuable improvements on Sections 5, 6, 8, and 16, and have always grazed the entire township. They asked me to make request of your office that all of Township 20N, Range 8W, be purchased from the Santa Fe for their benefit. When the matter of boundaries first came up in this area, we insisted on getting Sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 16, 17, and 18 at least, but Mr. M. B. Collinson, Land

Commissioner of the Santa Fe Ry. Co., did not at that time consent to turning over this area to our Department for the Indians, but preferred to keep it for Mr. Edward Sargent who has been a lessee of their lands for many years, but the Indians are feeling anything but happy over the prospect of having Mr. Sargent remove them from those sections, and we urge that every endeavor be made to persuade Mr. Collinson to sell to our Department all the lands within this township.

At present the exchange has been made whereby our Department is to have the east half of this township, and also includes Sections 4, and 9, and we do not like to see the Indians dispossessed of their homes and their range. Furthermore, what is known as the Tucker Gap is in the area selected by the Santa Fe Ry. Co., and Mr. Sargent plans to fence this up, which will cause further hard feelings, and the Indians feel that this is an injustice to them and we are in accord with their attitude. Further, a portion of the Tucker township, which is Town 18, Range 8 has been partly consolidated by the Indian Department, which gives us Sections 1, 3, 11, 13 and the north part of 15, which was secured through exchange. We are now leasing Sections 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, and 35. The Santa Fe Ry. Company selected Sections 4, 6, and 8, and they already have 5 and 7; this they desire to hold for the special benefit of Mr. Sargent, their lessee, so that he could move his stock through the Tucker pass, and to the west of Town 19 N., Range 8 West to other ranges which he has leased, but this means continuous trespass on the lands which some of those Indians have been using these many years. All of this land, T. 18 N., Range 8 West, should be purchased from the Santa Fe Ry. Co. . . . Township 19 N., Range 8 W., will be within the reservation should the boundary bill become a law. The west half of T. 20 N., Range 8 W., would be outside the Boundary

Some of the Indians and some of Mr. Sargent's men have already had a clash, and there is some bitter feeling caused by the present situation.

Stacher included with the letter a map showing the reservoirs built and under construction under the emergency program (85).

Shortly after Stacher's visit to Pueblo Alto, a second letter of complaint was sent, giving a different version of the discussion there (86):

Our agent at Crown Point (sic) called a meeting a few days ago at Pueblo Alto. But like all such meetings, nothing was done. Our agent told us we had no business writing letters to the President and that Washington would not bother to send anyone out here to see how conditions were. He wanted us to sign some kind of paper, but we wouldn't do that We know that the Navajo Indians around Crownpoint, Farmington, Shiprock and other places are getting work and help. We know these Navajos have plenty of food and money to buy wagons, saddles and clothesWe know that our neighbors the (Jicarilla) Apaches are getting work and other help and that the government bought 15,000 head of sheep for them, so why cannot we who are poor and starving, at least get Washington to investigate conditions among us

The distribution of 15,000 sheep that were given to the Jicarillas had been made in 1932 to replace some of the losses during the severe winter of 1931-32 (87). It is possible that some of the employment found by Navajos on that reservation was as sheep-herders.

A more important question is the accuracy of the letters written at the Counselor post. Jim and Ann Counselor became increasingly active in assisting Navajos in their opposition to stock-reduction and other Federal controls during the 1930's. The two letters for Pueblo Pintado were apparently only a small part of the petitions they helped prepare (88). Whether or not they overstated the case for the Pueblo Pintado people is difficult to determine, but obviously there was considerable dissatisfaction among the Navajos of the checker-board country as a result of economic deprivation, the threat of further stock-reduction, and the fear that the white stockmen might dispossess them entirely.

The Tribal council met in Tuba City on March 12 and 13. The councilmen approved the purchase of 150,000 more sheep and goats, as well as the castration of all remaining male goats, after Collier asserted that if they did not do so there would be no further funds for jobs and the boundary bills would not be passed. No family with less than 100 sheep was to be forced to sell stock. The work to make up for the loss of livestock was to be under the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program. The Eastern Navajo representative, Becenti Bega, protested the

reduction in the off-reservation areas, noting that the Navajos on the public domain would not be eligible for these jobs, but nothing was done to adjust plans to take his complaint into account (89a)(89b).

Another council meeting was held in Crownpoint April 9 through 11. Consideration of the Wheeler-Howard Bill to allow for a Tribal constitution was the major item on the agenda, and overshadowed the reduction program. Chee Dodge, Henry Taliman, and Deshna Cheschillege supported the bill; Morgan led the opposition. He based his arguments on his assimilationist philosophy, arguing that the Wheeler-Howard Bill would amount to a form of segregation rather than promote Navajo citizenship. The council vote was 7 in favor and 5 abstaining (90a) (90b). It is probable that Morgan's followers did not fully appreciate his reasoning, but did harbor strong anti-Government feelings, especially over the reduction program.

In April, the Park Service began fencing the Chaco Canyon National Monument boundary. Funds were limited, and the amount of fence built was not great (91). However, Julian had chosen to start along the northwestern part of the boundary, and he soon had a complaint from Stacher (92):

Willitto Wero is here and complains that the Park Service is fencing up his cornfield in connection with the ruin (Penasco Blanco) which the Park Service would like to obtain title to. He objects to this, and if the forty acres extend down into his cornfield, he says he would not be willing to give deed to that part of it, so I believe we should cut down the part on which the ruin is located to 20 acres

The six heirs to Welo's allotment were not interested in making a lieu selection for the land, but would sell for \$50 each, or a total of \$300 (92). Pinkley opposed the payment, taking the position that if they received the money, they would only spend it, but if they got land they would have something permanent. His major reason, however, seems to have been the uncertainty of obtaining the funds (93). This latter fear was justified, for he was soon informed that there was no chance of getting the money (94).

Julian's removal of the Navajo sheep had apparently been a brief victory, for in April the Navajos were again grazing perhaps a dozen small herds on the monument. Stacher's help in moving them was suggested (95). Apparently the Navajo residents were caused to move sometime during the year (96). Work on the fence continued through May into June, being suspended on the 7th, when the funds were exhausted (97).

On the last day of April or the first of May, the trader at Kimbeto, C. "Shorty" Widdows, was robbed, shot, and kidnapped by two men in a car from Farmington and Durango. The culprits were arrested the next day (98a)(98b).

Park Service plans were directed primarily toward controlling erosion. A Navajo visitor, Jake Edway, who had long been absent from the canyon, but who when he was a boy had worked there for Wetherill, was quoted as remarking that the arroyo had then been only 6 feet to 8 feet wide and 2 feet deep. In 1934, it was up to 200 feet wide and 30 feet deep (99a) (99b).

Stacher's annual report at the end of June noted that both wool and lamb sales had been slow, prices low, and crops poor. The employment that he had been able to provide had been an important contribution to the economy during the past 12 months and had provided new and much-needed sources of stock water. Through the chapters, improved housing had been encouraged. A number of hogans and some stone houses had been built with "composition roofing." He complained that the liquor traffic was on the increase due to the money available from wages. He noted that should the boundary bill pass, there would still be some 1,000 Navajos out of the estimated 7,500 under his agency who would be outside the reservation (100).

Julian left Chaco in June (101). He was replaced in July by Thomas C. Miller as custodian (102). There were probably few jobs for Navajos at the monument that summer. Bertha Dutton employed two to four Navajos from July 11 to 20 on excavations at Leyit Kin, but when the work was resumed in September, six farmers from the San Juan Valley were employed under a Depression Era program acronymmed FERA (103). Much of the work during the year seems to have been financed through FERA, and it is presumed that the greater part of the jobs went to non-Navajos.

The Navajo Tribal Council's next meeting was held July 10-12 at Keam's Canyon. Becenti Bega again tried to gain special consideration for his people from Collier, noting that although the Arizona boundary bill had been passed by Congress, the New Mexico bill had not. Collier would not yield, assuring Bega that the New Mexico bill would be passed by the next session of Congress (104).

There were three Enemyway ceremonies held at least in part on the monument during the late summer. One night of an Enemyway took place about 5 miles from the Pueblo Bonito headquarters on August 23. The other two were in September, and attracted about 300 people (105). These were undoubtedly occasions for

considerable discussion of the impending reduction. The quota for the Eastern Navajo agency was 27,000 goats and 7,000 sheep. Purchasing began late in September (106).

Some two years later, Fred Tsosi Chis Chiliazzie described his experiences at the time (107):

. . . I had 162 goats . . . and I had to sell half of them. The Government people . . . came to me and told me . . . I didn't like the idea and told them, "Will you please let me keep them. I like these goats . . . and I can make good use of them;" but the Government man says, "No, you have to sell. That's the order." I said, "Yes, but if I sell, how will I make a living?" He said, "You have to sell"; so he finally made me sell my goats.

. . . .

. . . They said, "I will pay you \$1 a head for goats. It won't make any difference whether they are Angora or what, you have to sell for \$1 a head." I told them, "What's the use of keeping some of these goats? You can have them all." So they took my whole bunch.

. . . .

At first, I held onto my goats as long as I could. I told the fellow who wanted my goats, "I will find out something more about it, why we have to sell our goats;" and he says, "You have to sell them." I was going to hold onto them, but my own people told me, "You will get in trouble if you do; you better sell." So I turned over the whole bunch.

John Taylor (sic) was the man buying the sheep and another man, Maida Lopez (Monte Lope?) . . . was dipping and buying goats. Mr. Stacker (sic) was there at the dipping vat at Ojo Encino. Mr. Taylor (sic) asked me, "Fred, have you turned in your goats?" I said, "Yes, here they are in the corral"; and Mr. Taylor (sic) says, "Fine, that's all right for you to do that; you look at that mountain way over there, the Jemez Mountains by Cuba; your land is going to be extended that much; you can have all that country if you reduce your goats and everybody else. We are sure of that"

Tyler later hired Chis Chiliazzie to help convince other Navajos that they should sell half their goats also. He was told to inform the people that the goats would be replaced with ewes. When neither the sheep nor the land were given to the Navajos, his neighbors accused him of lying (107). Unfortunately, no definite plan of range-management had been worked out for the Eastern Navajo agency, nor had any serious program of education been undertaken on either the adult level or in the schools (108). The need to rely on promises of uncertain validity for reduction is apparent.

In November, the Federal Relief Board provided 10 cattle and 10 sheep to be butchered at the Chaco Canyon trading post to help feed some of the poorer families (109).

Although there was strong opposition to the New Mexico boundary bill, the major reason for its failure to pass was that Collier did not give it sufficient attention, being too involved in his efforts to secure passage of the Wheeler-Howard Bill (110). This gave the opponents of the extension time to organize and overcome the support that the BIA had secured through negotiations and compromise. Kelsey Presley, at a meeting of white ranchers held at Thoreau in December, summed up their arguments against the bill, and they concluded that they should work for elimination of the 1931 withdrawal and for placement of the checker-board country under the Taylor Grazing Act (111a). The latter act would give the Bureau of Land Management control of the public domain, and thereby weaken the Bureau of Indian Affairs' administration in land matters.

At the beginning of 1935, Tomacito was back in his hogan on the monument. On January 9-10, a ceremony was held there for a sick daughter, who soon recovered. The winter was wet, with rain and snow, but no general report on grazing conditions has come to light (111b). However, the precipitation apparently caused significant new erosion, for a number of Navajos brought in Anasazi artifacts washed out of the soil. A rumor had spread that the Government would pay for such items, but all seem to have been willing to donate their finds when told that this was not possible (112).

In February, Stewart was assigned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to overcome local opposition to the boundary bill. He found little dissent in Gallup, and concentrated his efforts in San Juan County (113). Stacher was also working on the mobilization of support for Collier's programs, in this case for Navajo votes to approve the application of the Wheeler-Howard Act to their Tribe. On March 28, he held a meeting of the Chaco Navajos at National Park Service headquarters to promote this proposal (114).

The money for fencing the entire monument boundary had been allocated. Miller was looking forward to eliminating all grazing on Park Service land (115).

Toward the end of April, Sargent, accompanied by Clarence Iden, went to Washington to meet with Collier and his staff and various congressmen to lobby for changes in the boundary bill, or perhaps for its defeat. The only immediate result was the elimination from the proposal of more land that Sargent wanted for his sheep (116). While in the Capital, Sargent also visited Arthur E. Demaray of the National Park Service to complain of his grazing problems at Chaco Canyon, letting Demaray know that he was a former lieutenant governor of New Mexico (117). On their return to New Mexico, Sargent and Iden attended a meeting in Santa Fe, where they succeeded in effecting the removal of the lands of the Bloomfield irrigation project from the extension bill (118). Much of this effort was expended needlessly. It was in May that Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico died, to be replaced by Dennis Chavez, who would thereafter block the passage of the bill as one expression of his personal dislike for Secretary Ickes (119). Few realized at the time that the cause was now hopeless for the extension, and that Collier's promise would become just another white man's deception in Navajo eyes, of no greater force than Holsinger's hope that there would be no conflict between Navajo use of the land and a national park.

In the meantime, Pinkley checked into Sargent's claims at Chaco. He found that agreements had already been reached regarding Sargent's rights to use of the four sections in the eastern end of the monument and the stock driveway as well. Miller informed him of another matter involving Sargent (120):

. . . I noticed where Mr. Ramon Garcia has a suit pending on Section 11. I have this past winter had some dealings with him. He happens to be Mr. Ed Sargent's right hand man, so you can see who wants Section 11. Ramon likes to graze on the Chaco and it is no easy task to keep him out of here with Mr. Sargent's sheep.

Erosion-control was the big worry at Chaco Canyon as far as the Park Service was concerned. Miller, while not as adamant as Julian, still attributed the loss of soil entirely to overgrazing. A brief project under the Department of Agriculture resulted in the planting of almost 94,000 tamarisk, willow, cottonwood, and wild-plum seedlings along the Chaco wash, in the process providing employment from April 26 to May 7 for 20 Navajos and two whites (121). Two months later, it was noted that about 85 percent of the trees had survived. A survey of

the boundary was underway and nearing completion (122). Navajo observers were undoubtedly quick to foresee the portent in this work. The Navajos were having to give ground steadily. At Seven Lakes, Martin Tulley and his family had to leave their allotments (123). This seems to coincide with the intrusion of the Breece Cattle Company into the area, displacing small white owners as well as Navajos (124). If stock-reduction were not enough to defeat Collier's favorite project--the acceptance of the Wheeler-Howard Act by the Navajo Tribe--the land situations in the checker-board certainly could tip the balance. The election was held on this matter on June 14-15. The Wheeler-Howard Act was defeated by 518 votes, and lost by 789 votes in the Eastern Navajo jurisdiction.

The 1935 Annual Report for the Eastern Navajo agency was the first not to be signed by Stacher. Officially, his last day as superintendent was June 1, but he appears to have left somewhat before. His 26 years of struggle to preserve the Navajo foothold in the checker-board country had seen progress, but the lack of support from Washington and the necessity of compromise with powerful local interests had prevented the achievements for which he had hoped. Population had increased rapidly, up an unexplained 1,000 over that of the previous year to 8,500, of whom only 15 percent were estimated to be literate in English, while no more than 20 percent of the school-age children attended classes in 1935. The limitations on grazing had led the agency to place even more emphasis on farming as a means of livelihood. However, lacking any irrigation projects, this was a precarious alternative in the uncertain climate of the region, as subject to failure due to rain as were the Federal jobs to the whim of Congress.

The employment program was available primarily to the younger Navajos. Much of their earnings went into paying off old debts, and some was spent on used cars and whiskey, but it was the thing that made the difference in enabling the people to survive on the land during the years of the Depression and poor crops. Competition between the Navajos and the whites, both Anglo- and Spanish-American, remained a major fact of life in the region. Indian police and judges enforced the law on the allotted land, but the state had jurisdiction over most other land (125).

The total impact of Federal spending through the BIA cannot be determined from this annual report, but some indications are apparent in the section on roads. Some \$77,000 was expended on road-building. An unknown but large portion of this seems to have been required for equipment and materials. About 200 Navajos received employment, some holding positions as subforeman, mason, and carpenter. Four Navajos were experienced caterpillar

operators (126). It seems unlikely that many Navajos of the Chaco region were employed in these programs, for they were widespread throughout the agency's territory.

Hewett's field seasons at Chaco had begun to include ethnographic work at least as early as 1933, when Clyde Kluckhohn presented a series of lectures on Navajo culture (127), and descriptions were made of an Enemyway. Data on research accomplished in these early years are quite sparse, however. The conflicting aspects of white programs at the monument--on the one hand removing the Navajos from their homes, farms, and grazing areas within the Park Service boundaries, and on the other providing badly needed jobs--made the local people suspicious of the motives of the scientists and their students. The first instance of any resistance to a study appears in the records for 1935. Dr. Fred W. Allen, a biology professor from the University of New Mexico, hoped to do a study of blood-types in the Chaco country, but could find no Navajos willing to provide the samples he needed (128). The very fact that specimens of this sort were requested probably raised Navajo fears, for belief in witchcraft was strong in the area.

One significant student project was Francis H. Elmore's initial work on Navajo ethnobotany. Elmore worked primarily with Roy Newton, who had gone to school in Albuquerque and spoke good English, but also had some help from Juan Chiquito, Agapito and Charlie Atencio, Frank Padilla, and Dan Cly. He obtained data on 44 plants during the first effort (129). Rains were heavy late in the summer (130). The corn crop was good, at least at Kimbeto (131). However, the torrents continued, washing out roads and requiring considerable work for their repair (132).

Work on the boundary-fence resumed in October. There were jobs for 30 men on this project, but they were filled through the employment office in Farmington, and workers camped at Chaco in a row of tents, some bringing their families. It is highly improbable that any Navajos were hired (133). Indeed, there was minor harassment, probably of an incidental sort, in the loss of the surveyor's flags. According to the custodian, the Navajos appropriated the red flags and their goats ate the white ones. He was actively trying to enforce Julian's stock-removal program, but with somewhat indifferent results. He wrote Pinkley that (134):

To date, the Indians have moved out of the Monument about 150 head of goats and sheep and have moved in about 90 head of saddle and work horses to use on the project. Boss, don't you think I am doing well in eliminating the grazing in this Monument?

The Navajo workers were for the most part employed in the soil-conservation program, building revetments, dams, water spreaders, and dikes. There were 46 men at this work in November (134).

During the fall, the Government made its last effort at "voluntary" stock-reduction. A quota of 200,000 sheep units to be purchased with Federal funds was set. The council refused to endorse the sales, and not quite 30,000 animals were obtained. In November, regulations were promulgated allowing reduction regardless of Navajo wishes (135a) (135b). Land-management units or grazing districts were set up for better administrative control. The entire checker-board country was designated as District 19 (136).

At Chaco Canyon, the first month of 1936 was clear and cold, freezing the ground so thoroughly that most of the workers on the soil-conservation projects had to be laid off. Only 11 continued to labor, quarrying rock for later use (137a). In the following month, the boundary-fence was completed. Before February was out, Navajos had already cut it in several places (137b). The number of workers on the conservation project was down to 10 (138).

Resistance to stock-reduction mounted rapidly. In March, J. C. Morgan made a trip to Washington with Paul Palmer, a Farmington attorney, to protest Government policies. He had come to oppose the stock-reduction program, testifying before a Senate committee on the hardships caused by the goat-reduction. He read a telegram from Chischille Yazzi telling of a shortage of mutton and resultant hunger at Kimbeto, noting that it had been the owners of small herds who had suffered most from the reduction. He accused the BIA of promising to replace the goats with sheep and failing to do so, pointing out that once the Navajo herds were reduced, white owners brought in stock and established claims to grazing land that the Navajos had previously been able to hold. The jobs provided by Federal projects, although perhaps increasing total Tribal income, went only to the young men. Collier, testifying also, admitted that some Navajos had been "overpersuaded" to sell and that the program had been poorly run (139a)(139b).

Jim Counselor wrote a letter to the Farmington newspaper later in the month noting that while the Navajos had to reduce their stock, the whites on the same range did not, and that white-owned stock was coming in increased numbers to replace the Navajo stock removed from the area. His bitterness toward Federal programs was well summed up in one short paragraph (140):

It used to be when a Navajo wanted to build a stock water tank, he studied the drainage, etc., and went out and made a lake that would hold water. Now it takes plans and specifications from Washington, an engineer, two foremen, and a cook, and when they get through, the dam thing won't hold water.

Morgan, upon his return from Washington, was asked to attend a meeting held by the Navajos at Kimbeto (141). He also wrote a letter to the paper, probably shortly after the Kimbeto meeting, for it voiced a growing problem for the people of that region (142):

. . . During the past year a number of large areas of land have been taken and fenced to exclude Indians and their herds from these areas - their own land. In the past sixty years our people have planted and raised crops on these lands Now these people have no farms, because these lands were taken with pretension of erosion control work

March also saw the appointment of the man who in Navajo tradition ranks second only to Collier as responsible for the hardships of livestock-reduction: E. Reese-man Fryer (143a) (143b).

Although Navajo herds had been removed from the monument, apparently only those families that found it necessary to go with their herds had left. In April, Miller reported on a dispute between Sargent and Navajo families still residing in Gallo Canyon (144):

A meeting was held in the Monument at Mockingbird (Gallo) Canyon with Indian Service officials on the 10th. The purpose of the meeting developed from a request made by Mr. Ed Sargent to the Indian Service that the Indians would have to be removed from his driveway on Section 22, the land belonging to the National Park Service, on which Mr. Sargent has a driveway for his sheep. It seems that the Indians were making Mr. Sargent pay from \$30 to \$50 everytime he crossed this driveway with his sheep. It was learned at the meeting that the Indians were not charging him to cross Section 14, just outside the Monument boundary. It seems that these Indians at one time owned this section of land, then in 1932 their allotment was cancelled in an exchange of lands with the Railroad Company. Mr. Sargent has the land leased from the Railroad

Company. The Indians have lived there all their lives, have their homes and farms there, so they thought they owned the land. Officials present at the meeting were: Mr. John Tyler, stockman; Mr. Marvin Long, Senior Clerk, Indian Service; and the Custodian of this Monument. It was strictly an Indian Service problem, and other than being present I took no part.

By this time, the fence-cutting has ceased. Miller was making regular patrols of the boundary, and found only opened gates and stray stock, which he drove out on horseback. The Soil Conservation Service was doing work in "Hungopavie Canyon," apparently Mockingbird Canyon. This suggested that Miller did not know which side-canyon was which, in view of his placing the meeting over driveway rights at Mockingbird Canyon when the land in question was in Gallo. This work probably provided some jobs for the local Navajos, as did the construction of a University of New Mexico field headquarters in the canyon (145).

In the meantime, the BIA began an investigation by R. F. VanValkenburgh to provide testimony supporting the boundary bill with facts on conditions in the checker-board country. VanValkenburgh was in the field in February and March, and his data supplies the background for some of the later assertions made to Congress by Collier and Ickes. In the general Chaco region, including Kimbeto, Upper Kimbeto, Pueblo Alto, and Star Lake, he found 22 families, totalling 161 people, who were in serious need.

One family, that of José María Lope, was down from a herd of about 150 sheep and goats owned in 1918 to four sheep, 10 goats, and one horse. Some stock had been sold when prices were high in the 1920's; some had been lost in hard winters; and the rest had been sold during the early reductions. Lope earned a little money shearing sheep for whites, and the family's allotments were leased to Miguel Gonzales for grazing for \$40 a year. Even this small sum depended on access to a reservoir on the allotments, so that it may be presumed that the range was not very good. In addition, one son had found employment on the Jicarilla reservation, and two others were enrolled in boarding school. The family had little more than cornmeal mush with which to sustain themselves for extended periods.

Sin-nus-bah, a lame woman living near Kimbeto, was the best weaver thereabouts. A few years earlier, her family had owned 300 sheep. Her husband came down with tuberculosis, and between paying singers to cure the husband, hard winters, and stock-reduction, the family had only 10 sheep, 12 goats, and seven horses to support seven dependents. The husband by this time

was in the hospital and could not work. Sin-nus-bah's complaint shows how wage-work had upset the Navajo economy (146):

Wages are all right for the young men, but with women and old people sheep and goats would be best, for we all benefit. Young men go away and spend their wages foolishly.

Charley Phillips, also living near Kimbeto, had 22 dependents and only 10 sheep and 40 goats.

Julian Sandoval, Sr., had lost all his livestock, and supported two dependents by leasing allotments to Miguel Gonzales for \$50. Sandoval's adult son provided the family with some aid (146).

Juan Solles had a small farm at Canyon Corral, and leased his family's allotments to Sargent for varying sums depending on how long the latter's sheep were on the range. He was paid in tin money, good only at Setzer's Pueblo Alto post. He had seven dependents and had never had any stock. His land had been a part of Navajo George's range many years before (147).

Even those who still had sizeable herds were finding themselves in difficulties. Fred Tsosi Chis Chisllazzi, with 640 sheep, 17 goats, 85 cattle, and 30 horses, had been losing ground (148):

. . . The white stockmen fence in these places and tell the Indians, "This is mine, you move off!" There on the north side of Mrs. Buck's place (White Horse Lake), Mr. Sargent has a big fence in there; has a lot of country fenced; I don't know how much land; anyway, the Navajos living around Mrs. Buck's place have their summer area to live in. I built a lake on some land down there, and the white stockmen fenced this in and told me, "This land don't belong to you; it belongs to us," so I had to give it up.

VanValkenburgh also commented on the liquor trade, saying that both Indians and Spanish-Americans were doing bootlegging in automobiles and trucks, driving their merchandise in from San Luis, Cuba, and Cabezón, and returning with sheep and goats, further diminishing the depleted Navajo herds. He estimated that 60 percent of the allotments were leased to white ranchers from November through the middle of April.

The most influential leader for the people of the Chaco region was J. C. Morgan. He attended all chapter meetings, and was even involved in the election of chapter officers. The chapters

had become the focus of resistance to stock-reduction. Whenever the Government stockman attended a meeting, he was "heckled with unanswerable questions" (149).

Collier quickly seized on the bootlegging to receive most of the blame for the Navajo loss of livestock. Testifying on May 14, he brought this up as a factor in a 63-percent reduction of Navajo stock in the Pueblo Alto Area. White stockmen had quickly moved in to occupy the range (150):

In this checkerboard area a perpetual struggle rages between the Indian owners of sheep and the white owners of cattle and sheep. There is reciprocal trespass. There is a studied condition of range warfare that goes on all the time - Indians and whites alike. But ever since 1914 the Indians have been losing ground, and their state of poverty has become extreme.

Two weeks later, Ickes claimed that the Government had been trying "to build up the herds" of the Navajos of the region, but that bootleggers had thwarted the plan, trading whiskey for the superior stock the BIA had introduced (151). Collier, not long after, assured Congress that 88 percent of the loss had been due to sales for money and whiskey and only 12 percent to the stock-reduction program. He described the poverty and poor health conditions of the checker-board people, and said that as a stopgap measure the Government was buying sheep for them (152).

Such wage-work as was available was becoming increasingly important to the Navajos. In Chaco Canyon, the Soil Conservation Service apparently supplied some jobs. In May, 20 men were employed by them, although how many of these were Navajos is uncertain (153). The conservation project was terminated on July 23. Heavy rains early in August washed out most of the work they had accomplished (154). Laborers on the excavations were mostly whites, although in August, Dutton had three or four Navajos on her crew at Veyit Kin for a few days (155). Hewett hired some Navajos for his excavations, delivering their paychecks to Springstead to apply on their bills at the trading post (156).

In September, Gordon Vivian, doing repairs on Casa Rinconada, had a crew of Spanish-Americans; Paul Reiter's excavations at Chetro Ketl the following month also relied on imported labor (157).

The Soil Conservation Service resumed operations in Chaco Canyon in September, making repairs on the dikes damaged by the summer storms (158). The nature of their crew is not known, but by November it was made up of Sioux Indians (159). Thus, even

wage-work seems to have been available to a very limited degree to Navajos at this time, but the fragmentary nature of the available data do not allow for certainty in the matter.

Although a Work Projects Administration (WPA) project under Gordon Vivian was employing whites from places such as Farmington and Albuquerque, he did somehow manage to include money to hire an ethnologist. This position was filled by Marjorie James, who had been a member of the summer field-school. She began work on October 26, but took time off from her research for 2-1/2 weeks to help Dutton with her excavations. She was paid for only 90 hours a month, however, and was easily able to find the necessary time to do ethnographic work.

Two Navajo girls lived with her, and assisted both as informants and interpreters. She attended several ceremonies, visited the Indian schools, interviewed traders, and did an analysis of the records of Navajos employed by the Soil Conservation Service. No final report on her work has been located, but one brief field report does summarize some data on employed Navajos. She noted that every family included at least one weaver; that the average number of children per family was four; and that few families had cultivable land, but all had some livestock (160-164).

Personal tragedy struck twice during the year. A son of Willie George died on July 2. George asked Miller to arrange for his burial at Crownpoint. When the BIA refused to provide any assistance, Miller took leave for the day, and with such help as he could round up on short notice personally transported the body and set it in a coffin. As he drove away from the canyon, a black horse was shot, and the dwelling burned. Donations from the students with the field-school and the Soil Conservation Service project manager partially reimbursed Miller (165).

Again in November a Navajo boy died, this time accidentally shot while rabbit-hunting with friends. The fathers of both boys involved were employed at the canyon, and again the task of funeral director went to Miller. The dead boy was buried in the canyon, and Miller reported the incident to the agency. Arrival of a police officer to investigate caused considerable worry among the Navajos, but Miller was able to assure them that the BIA had no intention of arresting the boy who held the gun (166).

In the fall, Tomacito dictated a letter to Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, which shows the state of mind of the people in the monument area, if not explaining exactly what was happening (167):

. . . . My wife and I are old. Our children are all born here at Chaco Canyon. We have lived here for 52 years. Up to 2 years ago, we lost our land here when the National Park people took away our allotted land. Now the land is all fenced in. We have our (hogans) homes on all our land. We had a small farm on our land, where we raised all that we needed from year to year. We had a fence around our place. We had water which we fenced in to keep animals out only when needed, but a man named Sargant (sic) fenced in also, and he won't let us use the water any more.

Our Indians used to dig wells down in the washes anywhere to get water for their stock, but now they cannot do it any more. White men won't let us do it. We are very poor now; hungry most of the time and thirsty all the time. We only have 12 goats and 10 sheep left now to live on. We have a few ponies which are in need of water, all the time.

We hear so much about soil erosion--tho we do not know what it is--yet they say they spend a lot of money on it; but we tell you the truth that we do not get any work, so there is nothing done in our section

We do not want our reservation divided in 20 districts As an old man, and I do not know how long I am going to live, but I want to tell you that we do not want to reduce any more of our sheep and goats. I've told you how many I got left now. When that is all gone I will starve to death. Then John Collier will be glad, and that man at Window Rock, who is no good for our reservation, will clap his hand.

You, I understand, help make big laws in Washington; will you please help to make some laws that will stop too many bosses out here and stop useless experiments on our people. I told you that I am old, and I want to ask you to do all you can to have enough land extended for our people. They are increasing rapidly year by year.

Lastly, I want to tell you that we are not satisfied with E.R. Fryer We like him to be removed. I do not expect to hear from you direct, but I hope you remember that my people here join me in telling you of these matters. Please help to make a law to help us.

The text would appear to be a fairly accurate rendering into written English of what Tomacito said in Navajo by some person who knew English well but tried to keep the wording close to what was said, either by using an interpreter or through his own knowledge of Navajo. Obviously, in view of the spelling of Tomasito's name, the scribe did not know Spanish. The farm to which Tomasito refers was probably that in the South Gap, within the monument boundary. If so, he wrote to complain of being fenced out of lands both by the Park Service and by Sargent. His concerns are very much like those that survive today in memory and tradition of the Collier era.

One minor item of cultural change is the reference to hand-clapping. This mode of applause is said by Navajos in the central part of the reservation to have been introduced into use in chapter meetings about this time, and its acceptance by Navajos in the east may date from the same period.

What seems to be a relatively comprehensive list of white stock-owners appears for 1936. Most were apparently sheepmen who brought their herds in for winter grazing. For the Escavada drainage, two are listed: the John Sargent estate, with headquarters at Antonio, Colorado; and T. D. Burns, from Tierra Amarilla. Tabby Brimhall, of Fruitland ranged stock east of Kimbeto. All those grazing on the Chaco wash were from Chama. Ed Sargent led this list, and two others--Red Ramon and Reuben Chavez--were noted as "Ed Sargent interests," perhaps indicating that they were partidarios herding Sargent-owned sheep. A fourth name for the area was "The Ed Sargent Co." The Sargent interests were not only extensive, but obviously part of a rather complex organization. The only independent white stockman claiming winter range on the Chaco was Clyde Stoddard, also from Chama. Altogether these men grazed about 47,000 sheep (168).

One other owner is of interest. This is Preciliano Martinez from Gallina, who had about 600 sheep in the Torreon region (169a). His name appears scratched on the rock at numerous old sheep-camps in the Chaco area with dates from 1918 to 1922, and perhaps as late as 1926. In all cases where his home was included in these inscriptions, he wrote it as Chama.

Sometime during 1936, probably late in the year, a young Navajo woman near Huerfano had a vision. She said that she had been visited by White Shell Woman and given instructions for the performance of special Blessingway ceremonies (169b). Aberle notes there is no data to relate this event specifically to stock-reduction other than its correspondence in time. It is noteworthy, however, that for the people of the checker-board, stock-reduction was only one aspect of an almost overwhelming

growth of white domination of the affairs of their country. Not only were there many new threats to their way of life, but it was necessary to rely on the good will of friendly whites in order to deal with most of them, for they involved diverse forces foreign to the Navajos which few of their own people understood. Those few who did claim knowledge that would enable them to handle the problems were educated people who, like Morgan, were opposed to the old ways. That supernatural help would be sought under such circumstances is highly likely. It came through a young woman who had probably grown up in the shadow of Huerfano Mountain, the central sacred mountain of the Navajos and the home of Changing Woman, who is frequently equated with White Shell Woman in the religious tradition of the Tribe.

About the same time, a similar vision was attributed to a Navajo woman living near Farmington. It is not known whether this woman lived on the reservation or in the checker-board country. The description could fit either. She was visited by "Banded Rock Boy," probably the supernatural usually called "Mirage Stone Boy" in most of the literature on Navajo Religion. The divine message which she received was that things were bad all over the world and that Blessingway ceremonies for rain should be held, in each case the one sung over to be a woman of the Bitterwater clan. All who wanted blessings for their families should make offerings of chips of the sacred jewels--turquoise, jet, white shell, and coral. A number of these ceremonies were held, and Banded Rock Boy appeared once more to the woman, this time in a dream, commending the Navajos for performing the ritual, and leaving a gift of sacred corn which the woman distributed for seed to all who asked for it. The message was not an offering, but prediction that good would come eventually from the Government programs in Navajo country.

The ceremonies were intended to benefit the entire world, not just the Navajos who participated in them.

A final proof that the visions had been real was the fact that Tla or Hosteen Klah, who had scoffed at them, died shortly thereafter (170).

It should be noted that all known ceremonies held as a result of the Banded Rock Boy visions took place on the reservation, at Hogback, Shiprock, and Red Rock (171). Another ceremony which was described as "very unusual" and "shrouded with a great deal of mystery" was held by Hosteen Deal (Hastiin Diil, "Heavy Man") of Toadlena about the same time (172), and perhaps was for the same purpose. It is not known whether any ceremonies were held as a result of the White Shell Woman vision.

Weather during the winter was variable. In January, there was a cold-spell with sufficient snow that some 300 Navajo pinyon-pickers were trapped in the Zuni Mountains and rescued by the BIA (173). Rain and snow in February closed the roads, but were good for the range (174). About the middle of March, Sargent noted that his sheep had wintered well (175). As his winter range was in Chaco country, it is to be presumed that the Navajo sheep of the area were also in good condition that spring.

A new custodian arrived at the monument in January, Lewis T. McKinney (176). Early in the spring, the Soil Conservation Service began work again. On March 15, they put 20 men to work, and by the end of April had 108 Navajos on their payroll planting trees, with over 200,000 being set out (177) (178). The plantings continued into May, with another 128,000 trees being put in (179). Whatever the situation in previous years, the Navajos were getting their fair share of the jobs on the monument in 1937. McKinney's tourist season began early that year with a visit by Navajo children from the schools at Lake Valley, White Horse Lake, Fort Wingate, and Crownpoint in May (180).

Prices had made considerable recovery from the depths of the Depression. Wool was up to 25¢ to 27¢ a pound; mohair, ironically after the massive goat-reduction, was selling for 45¢ to 49¢ (181).

The conservation work was terminated at the end of June (182), but other jobs would soon be available. A good rain early in July undoubtedly did much good for both crops and range (183). If the local people had participated in the special Blessingways held that winter, they had cause to feel that their prayers had been answered.

However, they also had reason to feel resentment. Stock-reduction still threatened the herds they retained and the boundary bill had little chance of passage. Morgan had recognized the political value of opposition to reduction, and encouraged the fight against it. His popularity had reached new heights (184). Politics became a matter of interest to all. Through the winter and into the spring, Father Berard Haile led a committee on a search throughout Navajo country in order to compile a list of "grassroots" local leaders from whom a constitutional assembly could be chosen (185). Frank Binali of Lake Valley and Hastiin Delaghoshin Binali of Stoney Butte were the only names on the list from close to Chaco Canyon (186). Morgan was strongly opposed to the whole procedure, and the Chaco people were among his most ardent supporters. When Morgan

went to Washington in June to testify at Senator Chavez' request on the boundary bill, one of his companions was Chis Yazzi of Kimbeto (187). According to Lope, the Navajos paid the expenses of the delegation, thinking that they were lending support to the boundary bill (188). In view of the fact that both Morgan and Chavez were against the bill, the Navajos' disappointment in the results of the trip are understandable. In spite of Morgan's opposition to the boundary bill, he seems to have managed to keep his following among the off-reservation people--a loyalty that was apparently based in part on his equally strong opposition to stock-reduction, his ability to defy the Government, and possibly on kin and clan ties in the region. Morgan was perhaps able to control his disdain of traditional Navajo ways when in the backcountry. At Shiprock, his stance on culture change was equally ambiguous. In July, he organized the Navajo Progressive League, there to fight the reorganization of the Navajo Tribal Council (189). That he based his low opinion of the constitutional assembly largely on the fact that it was composed of traditionalist "long hairs" does not seem to have been recognized by those attending the Shiprock meeting, many of whom could themselves have fit that description (190).

Anti-white feeling was sufficiently strong at Chaco that the School of American Research had trouble hiring laborers that year (191). Most of the animosity was the result of the Navajos having to abandon their homes in the canyon. A young anthropology student, John Corbett, was assigned a project of studying Navajo house-types by the University of New Mexico field-school, and was repeatedly refused permission to measure dwellings, both along the Escavada and at Lake Valley, although the hostility seemed especially great at Lake Valley. His notes include such statements as (192):

- #41 Not allowed to measure.
- #75 Measurements not allowed here either. People in this region very unfriendly.
- #17 Although Charlie (Atencio) had worked for the school, he would not allow any measurements of any sort whatsoever.
- #44 Dick Beale was not at home, and rest of the family would not give permission to measure.
- #121 Martin (Monte) Lope was away, but had left orders with his wife not to allow any strangers around

- #21 Owner (Frank Padilla) did not like us around.
- #15 No measurements were allowed, as it was in the same group with Antonio Truillio's (sic) and he caused much trouble--claimed white man would not like Indian to measure white man's place.
- #81 Now used as a medicine hogan since the Park Service moved all the Navajos out of the National Monument.
- #8 Now-abandoned because of National Park. See #'s 52 and 53 for his new hogans.
- #52 ----built only a few years ago by Wellito Wera (sic), for he had to move out of Chaco Canyon when the Government forbid any more Indians to live or graze there in an effort to prevent the terrific erosion that was going on in the Canyon -----

Exactly when particular Navajos left and under what conditions is vague in the available documentation. Corbett's "a few years ago" does not supply any real certainty and some of the replacement housing that he saw was still under construction (192):

- #34 Not allowed to measure at all.
- #72 People here very unfriendly, would not even answer our questions as to directions.
- #93 Measurements were not allowed to be taken at all. The Navajos here were very unfriendly.
- #101 No measurements were allowed to be taken by the Navajos who lived in this group of four hogans.
- #105 On this group of hogans numbers 105, 106, 107, no measurements were allowed either. The Navajos of this area were unfriendly, reticent with information and hostile to white investigators.
- #107 The investigator was expected to pay for the privilege of taking measurements and observation but he did not feel like intruding upon their scruples in that manner.

#117 The old man who owned this hogan and the next one, number 118, was very inhospitable. No measurements were allowed.

#147 Although the people were here, they would allow no measurements.

Not all of these families had lived on the monument, but a number living outside may have had rights to grazing land inside the fence. It is possible that they feared ulterior motives in Corbett's interest in their homes, perhaps fearing that further removal was portended by his survey. In any case, he and his interpreter, Fred Yazzi, bore the brunt of Navajo reaction to the removal (192).

Three other students working at "Pueblo Alto," apparently in the Pueblo Pintado area, encountered no such problems while studying clans under Kluckhohn's supervision (193). The distance from the main part of the monument meant little impact of the fencing on the lives of the people in this community.

A list of the projects of the Chaco field station includes Corbett's study, but omits the clan study, and does not correlate entirely with information from other sources regarding a survey of Navajo archeological sites. According to the list, Marjorie James began a census of the Navajos with Eva Bitsilie as interpreter. They had to stop work early, and completed only the eastern third of the Chaco basin. Corbett's study appears, as does a "Navajo Linguistic Study" by Robert W. Young, with Adolph Bitany as interpreter. This latter included final checking of a Navajo primer as well as other work. Frances E. Watkins was doing a study of Navajo personal names, and Betty Murphy began work on the Navajo archeological survey, having to terminate the project early due to a lack of transportation (194).

At least a part of Murphy's explorations were made in the Canyon Largo area rather than the Chaco region (195). A survey of Navajo sites in the Chaco country was accomplished that summer by Ray L. Malcolm (196), but does not appear on the list. Watkins did complete a report on his project which is now in the Museum of New Mexico files (197).

Additional employment soon became available through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). A mobile ruins-stabilization unit was organized by Robert S. Harris early in July. This began as a cooperative effort by both the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Charlie R. Steen was Harris'

assistant in August, later replaced by R. Gordon Vivian. Harris left in September, to be succeeded by Vivian (198). The first Navajos hired were Charlie and Agapito Atencio, who had abundant prior experience working in the ruins. Others were added, and work was begun on Pueblo Bonito once the initial work of establishing a camp had been completed. Vivian was required to give a course in first aid and safety to his men, a chore that neither enjoyed, and which became the source of many jokes among the whites on the monument (199-201). It is quite likely that the Navajos had their own jokes about the sessions.

In November, the Navajo Extension Boundary Association, under Lope's leadership, held a meeting in Albuquerque with the white homesteaders of the checker-board country, the two groups uniting to promote the boundary bill. The homesteaders had found the country far less hospitable than they had been led to expect by unidentified promoters, and were eager to sell out to the Federal Government so that they could get a start elsewhere. The Navajos and the homesteaders were united in their dislike for the large stockmen who came into the region for winter grazing. Lope feared that if the land should be placed under the regulations of the Taylor Grazing Act, the Navajos would suffer unfairly in competing with the white ranchers (202a) (202b).

Lope claimed a Navajo population of 10,000 for the Eastern Navajos (203). This would seem high in comparison with figures reported for prior years, but Burge (204) gave the population as 9,700. The rate of growth could hardly have been as dramatic as the rapidly rising figures each year would indicate. It is more likely that better census data each year included many Navajos who had been missed in earlier estimates.

In November, the Soil Conservation Service produced a plan for extensive erosion-control within the monument. Several possible projects were described, some of which were recommended and others not recommended, including dams for stock-tanks, repair of the road, further plantings, erosion-control structures, further fencing, rodent control, and possible stocking of the monument with antelope or buffalo. Perhaps the most significant conclusion was that (205):

All previous efforts to control erosion in the main wash and larger tributaries by the type of erosion control or bank protection structures employed have partially or completely failed. There is no assurance that similar additional efforts and reasonable expenditures will be any more successful

The final event of importance during 1937 was the sale of the Chaco trading post by Springstead to Arthur B. Tanner of Kirtland in December (206). Tanner's first manager at the store was his son Stanley (207).

In order to provide Sargent with his stock driveway and the grazing which he had been allowed for a 10-year period on the sections obtained from the railway, the Park Service left unfenced about two-thirds of section 22, about three-quarters of section 28, and all of sections 23, 25, 27, and 29 in T21N, R10W (208). A grazing permit was issued annually to Sargent for the full sections beginning in 1938 (209a)(209b)(210).

Early in 1938, Collier abandoned his fight for the New Mexico boundary bill, realizing that he had no hope of overcoming Chavez' opposition (211). His waning interest may also have been in part a result of the success of Navajo resistance to his other programs.

Navajo events for 1938 at Chaco are in general very poorly documented. The exception to this is in the records of Vivian's mobile stabilization. Vivian and the Navajos were learning to work together, and his reports, as quoted by Pinkley, show progress not only in stabilization, but in human relations. Work on Pueblo Bonito was continuing. In January (212):

Some of the work on the walls and capping is now getting up in the air. Working on the third story entails a lot of scaffold building and moving. So far, we have been lucky or else the safety meetings are having an effect. At least we have had no accidents on the scaffolding. Our only one in two months happened when one of the boys got in a hurry to leave the job at five o'clock. He jumped off a wall and landing on a loose rock sprained his ankle.

Mr. McPhee, public relations man for the Navajo Service, came over from Window Rock and took a couple hundred feet of movie film and some still photos of work in progress. No one objected to having his picture taken as is sometimes the case, and a fine time was had by all. The oldest man on the job, whose papers say he is 67 and who easily looks it, was even urged into a trot for the action shots. This man is a mud carrier by profession and doesn't usually appear to move at all.

The work continued into the spring, with BIA cooperation making the program possible. A visit by several BIA officials in April may have been to inspect the operations of the mobile unit, but their purpose in coming was not identified. Vivian loaned one of his CCC workers to McKinney to assist in fence repairs, the nature of the damage not being specified (213). In May, work was being finished up on Kin Klizhin and continuing at Pueblo Bonito (214). The usual late spring dry-spell was broken by a good rain on June 21, which raised the spirits of everyone at the canyon. McKinney wrote (215):

Even the Navajos are laughing and chanting as they work away with their mud and stone, repairing the wonderful old ruins of Pueblo Bonito

By July, Vivian had again divided his crew, part working at Aztec, while others still labored on Pueblo Bonito (216).

Kluckhohn was again out with the University of New Mexico field-school, and it is probable that further Navajo studies were undertaken, but specific projects are not known (217).

Vivian was learning to enjoy the cultural differences that were a part of his life. In September, he described his medical efforts (218):

. . . As extra curricular activities this month, the boys and I have been making medicine. The stomach aches and wandering pains I've sent to the hospital at Crownpoint, keeping the cases of 'noises-in-his-ear-like-a-bug-scratching' here at camp to dope. It is strange what a hold this idea of having medicine in the ear has on the population here. Then there have apparently been a lot of minor ailments in the men's families and in those of their relatives which the small-time medicine men, who are also among our best stone masons, have taken considerable time off to cure. There is never any choice as to whether it is best to keep on working or to sing over an ailing friend.

By October, Vivian's crew was working on three sites: Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo del Arroyo at Chaco, and continued work at Aztec (219).

Vivian's tolerance for Navajo problems was not matched by McKinney's views. In March, he had reported shooting five cats and one dog as trespassers, but did not identify the owners (220). His opinions were more fully explained in his report for November (221):

. . . If there were some two thousand (2000) Navajo Indians within your vicinity and each had from one to three dogs which followed them to the Trading Post each time they came, turned over all garbage cans in the canyon while they were here and chased your rabbits and ground squirrels on the way in and on the way out, and you had asked them in a white man's nice manner to please leave their dogs at home when they came to the monument, just what would you do? Will each "GENTLEHEARTED CUSTODIAN" and anyone else that reads this please give me some advice in the next monthly report?

He had apparently despaired of shooting all the dogs, perhaps having received complaints from some owners in reply to his own complaint. His wife, at least, was getting along well with the Navajos. Two workers assisted in capturing a stray loon in December by wading into a half-frozen pond so that she could band the bird (222). The custodian's troubles with trespassing animals did not diminish. When snow covered the forage outside the monument in January, Navajo stock soon got through the fence to the grass on the inside (223).

Stanley Tanner left the trading post late in December, to be replaced by Andrew Jackson Lavender as manager in January (224).

By January, Vivian's men had finished work on Pueblo del Arroyo and various minor sites, so that he had workers only at Pueblo Bonito and Aztec. He was still noting absenteeism by singers who took time off to treat the sick in the families of the crew members (225).

A second ruins project had also been underway. This was a WPA-sponsored operation under the direction of Paul Reiter for excavation and repair at Chetro Ketl. Reiter had white workers, and found the problems of recruiting and keeping them far more difficult than Vivian's with his Navajo crew. Reiter's account of his difficulties after a year of work indicates that bureaucratic procedures were a part of the trouble, but that the remote location was a very important consideration (226):

Part of the labor shortage is resultant of the re-organization of the WPA state administration, and another part is the result of workers' displeasure in moving away from their homes to work in this location . . . a reaction not discouraged, particularly, by WPA officials.

. Because we were accomplishing so little, I have made every conceivable effort to make the project agreeable to WPA workers and their families. Every full time worker who has a family has moved it here, resulting in a WPA population which includes 23 children. In order to make the situation further agreeable we now sponsor and house a county school, which is attended by all eligible children. Efforts to establish a labor kitchen (so single men would not be compelled to cook for themselves) were successful for several months, until WPA caught up with us. This consideration had some effect on the willingness of single men to remain in residence here.

. . . I have done everything possible to get labor assigned to the project, and have made every concession to keep them here, once they have answered the assignment. Even so, I feel that we have accomplished very little due to the shortage of workmen.

Early rains gave prospects of a good year for the range. Even so, McKinney found the boundary-fence a continuing problem, noting that "the wires come untied when darkness comes" (227a) (227b).

In May, Frances H. Elmore began work as a summer seasonal for the Park Service (228). Elmore had begun studying Navajo ethnobotany at Chaco Canyon in 1936 as a student with the University of New Mexico, and as a ranger probably continued the research that led a few years later to his monograph on the subject (229).

McKinney had been a seasonal ranger at the monument in 1935 (230), so was known to the Navajos before he became custodian. In spite of the conflicts over animal trespass, he was asked for help in times of need. When a little Navajo girl was bitten by a rattlesnake in June, it was McKinney who rushed her to the hospital in Crownpoint, after Lavender and A. W. Shirley administered first aid (231).

Preparations began in June for a CCC camp at the foot of South Mesa with the salvage of an Anasazi ruin where the buildings would be located (232a). Construction of the camp got underway in July (232b). The building was erected by the Army (233). On August 22, there arrived 193 CCC enrollees who were put to work on Soil Conservation projects (234). The new workers were from Pennsylvania. Most stayed until December, when 122 were sent back to their houses, with 58 remaining and more enrollees expected in January (235). Thus, there was little work for the local Navajos other than for those employed in ruins-stabilization and odd jobs such as Dan Cly's few days of employment digging a trench for a propane gas-line (236).

Jack Lavender left his job at the trading post at the beginning of July, and Arthur Tanner himself took over the task of operating the business. He was also appointed postmaster there (237a) (237b).

In August, Collier noted that the Navajos had legal control of 38 percent of the land in the checker-board, most of it owned as allotments, and a little under lease. Whites owned and leased 28 percent. He reported, however, that (238)

. . . these non-Indian operators actually use at least 80 percent of the public domain plus the intermingled Navajo allotments (sic) The area is stocked to twice its carrying capacity

In that month, a sister of Charlie and Agapito Atencio died at Zuni. The brother brought her body back to Chaco Canyon, and the burial was performed by McKinney and Kenneth Boone (239). The stabilization work at Aztec was finished in August, but repairs of Pueblo Bonito continued (240). Vivian's duties continued to include an adult-education program once a week with his crew. He appears by this time to have been quite free to choose his subject-matter. Early in September, he taught the crew how to sign their names, but took his efforts at developing literacy only that far, noting that "we don't bother with the alphabet because we don't need all of it to write Hosteen Mescalito." For his last session of the month he showed them how a camera works. Whether he assigned any of the Navajos to do the photography of the stabilization is uncertain (241).

The summer was very dry. A bit of rain in September did little to alleviate the drought (242a-242c).

The CCC crew was doing more work on the boundary-fence in October, although just what this involved is unclear (243). In November, however, McKinney reported that he and two companions (244)

. . . spent some time picking out locations for horse trails leading up the different mesas so the boundary fence can be patrolled on horseback, rather than riding one mile and walking two, making the patrol very slow.

The Park Service staff was still bothered by the Navajo dogs coming into the monument with their owners. Vivian reported with satisfaction that three porcupines had moved into the headquarters area, and that they had some good influence in the matter (245). Pinkley, however, recommended forbearance, observing

that there was no more hope of getting the Indians to leash their dogs than of trying to enforce a regulation that all clouds over the monument should be on leashes (246).

The year ended with more sadness for the Navajo community. Clyde Beale's wife died in childbirth in December. At Beale's request, McKinney performed the duties of undertaker for a funeral at the monument cemetery. A horse was killed by the family, and the bridle, blanket, and saddle buried (247).

Government efforts to expand the Navajo land-base had met with some success during the year. About four sections were acquired through an exchange with the Santa Fe railway in the Chaco region, in addition to others elsewhere (248). Hope of securing the extension had dwindled, however, and in September Ickes placed the checker-board lands under the regulations of the Taylor Grazing Act. In order to try to protect Navajo interests, there was to be a BIA representative on the Range Conservation Committee, and both Navajos and whites were to be represented on the Advisory Board (249).

The extension of these grazing regulations to the checker-board country seems to have quickly provoked resistance, leading to some arrests and the formation of the Navajo Rights Association under Dashne Clah Cheschillege (250). However, not all Government action was adverse to Navajo interests in the eastern regions. A new hospital at Crownpoint was opened early in 1940 (251). In addition, rain and snow in the winter and spring gave the range-grass a good start (252).

The snow began as early as January at Chaco. The range outside the fence had been grazed off badly during the fall and early winter. McKinney had acquired a new horse, and used it to patrol the monument to drive out Navajo horses. He did his duty as he saw it, but could sympathize with the Navajos (253).

A Navajo asked me the other day just why we had these National Monuments over the country. I told him they were for the pleasure and education of the people. He said that it would give him a great pleasure for him to graze his sheep inside the fence for a few weeks, and I replied that it may educate him a bit, if I catch him with them in here. But it is hard to explain to the Navajos and get them to understand why we won't let them come in and use some of the better grass, when we have nothing to use it for

The CCC camp continued to employ whites for the soil-conservation work; another 146 men were brought in to replace those who had left. However, the ruins-stabilization work was given to Navajos, with projects under way at Pueblo Bonito, Kin Klizhin, Pueblo del Arroyo, and Aztec (254) (255). Another job taken on during the month by Vivian's crew was at Tonto National Monument. The trip was made with two big trucks loaded with supplies, tents, bedrolls, and other equipment; a pickup carried most of the workers. Vivian's account of his troubles in getting through Gallup give a good picture of the conditions of the period (256):

. . . Before we got right into Gallup we stopped for one of the fellows to get a few extra shirts from his wife. Wife, it developed lived first across the tracks and then on the other side of a roadless waste of mud, and on somewhere behind a couple of jagged cliffs. It was a long way off and he had to walk. So the two trucks went on ahead; I was going to catch up with them as soon as we got the shirts.

Well, his wife wasn't at home and the husband kept searching for her, away off there in the cliffs. I kept waiting. In two or three hours he returned with a shirt and we started off to catch the trucks They were waiting for us at the CCC camp at Petrified Forest and it was just supper time when we drove in. Had supper and then I went off to bed the boys down.

They all wanted to know where Willie was. And after a minute, so did I. Willie it seems had gotten off in Gallup. The driver claimed Willie took offense at having to ride all the way in a truck so he jumped out and announced he was waiting for me on a corner there. And when I went through Gallup I'd gone down a different street.

Now Willie, like other enrollees, had very little or no money but, unlike most others, he spoke no English and had only been in a place as big as Gallup a very few times

So I started back to Gallup taking as a guide one of the boys who claimed to know the haunts of stranded aborigines in Gallup. It was something after eight when we got there We looked on every corner, in the jails, in every hotel, along

the railroad tracks and every other place that either an honest man or a fugitive might be. About midnight, minus Willie, we went to bed.

The next morning as the guide and I came out of the hotel, there was Willie standing on a corner waiting. After a fond reunion, we took to the road.

At Chaco, Vivian did extra duty as ambulance-driver, making three trips to the Crownpoint hospital with Navajos needing emergency treatment. Twice he transported babies, and the other trip was for one of the workers who had been thrown by his horse on his way home from the job (256).

By April, the CCC crews had just about finished the horse-trails for the boundary patrol (257). In May, McKinney described the growth of vegetation in the 3 years since the fence had been built, claiming that saltbush and other shrubs had doubled in size (258). During the month, the crew at Tonto returned to Chaco, where stabilization work was continuing on Pueblo Bonito (259). In June, 117 of the CCC workers returned to their homes in Pennsylvania, leaving 70 in the camp (260). The loss was replaced in July with another 133 enrollees also from Pennsylvania (261).

The ethnology field-school this year was under the direction of Leland C. Wyman. Students included David Aberle working on games, myths, and humor; Gretchin Chapin also studying myths and humor; Marguerite King studying shoes; Mrs. A. W. Rogers doing an ethnobotanical study; Charlotte A. Cooper recording daily activities, and investigating Navajo ethnoentomology; Iva Osinai on eschatology and beliefs in the afterworld; and Elizabeth Long studying law, property, and classification of dieties. Aberle, Osinai, and Chapin published papers as a result of their research; Cooper's fieldwork contributed to Wyman's monograph on Navajo ethnoentomology published many years later (262a-262c). A great many Navajos participated in the work, including members of the Cly, Atencio, Padilla, Wero, Trujillo, Lope, Sandoval, George, Mescalito, and Newton families (263).

By September, the good growth of range-grass had relieved the pressure of trespassing livestock (264). During the fall, there was considerable turnover in the CCC crews; many of the Pennsylvanians were replaced by New Mexicans, a high proportion of whom were Spanish-Americans (265).

Tanner had changes at the trading post also. Early in the year, Kirk Clawson was operating it for him. In December, Glen Whiteman became the clerk (266).

Registration for the draft had begun. Poor understanding of the system caused some resistance among Navajos at Crownpoint, but Jacob Morgan was able to overcome this with a talk to the young men (267). However, there is no mention of draft registration in the monthly reports from the monument at this time, and it apparently caused little concern there.

The stabilization-crew worked steadily, except for a break of 10 days at the end of the fiscal year caused by a delay in receiving new funding. There was some work at Pueblo Bonito during the summer, but most of the effort was at Wijiji and Pueblo Pintado, until bad weather halted operations in January (268-271).

Threatening Rock, the precariously balanced monolith that had given Pueblo Bonito its Navajo name--a name that still identifies Chaco Canyon throughout Navajo country--fell on January 22, 1941, at 3:25 p.m. (272).

In March, Vivian penned words of praise for the Navajo stabilization-crew, noting their long experience at working in the ruins, for some of 10 to 15 years' duration (273). The damage caused by the fall of Threatening Rock and a wet winter provided plenty of work for them in the spring (274).

With the exclusion of many Navajos from range-lands within the fenced area of the monument, competition for range around the borders apparently increased. In April, John Wileto wrote Fryer asking for information on his allotment, fearing that Sargent was about to fence him out of it (275). His letter was answered by Marvin D. Long, Chief of the Land Division at Window Rock, who identified an allotment that may have been Wileto's, and added (276):

You state that you believe that Mr. Edward Sargent is planning to fence in your allotment, and in regard to this I suggest that you get in touch with your District Supervisor, Mr. Karl Foster, 70 Lybrooks Estate, Cuba, New Mexico, and determine what is up. It is possible that this plan has something to do with grazing permits from the Grazing Service, and on which Mr. Foster has certain responsibilities in connection with the protection of Indian rights.

No further documentation of this matter has been found, but the allotment in question, the SW¹/₄ of section 35, T22N, R10W, lies outside of the Sargent ranch as shown on later maps, so that it may be presumed that it was never enclosed within the Sargent fence.

There appears to have been little deliberate trespass on the monument during the spring, but high waters had washed out the water gaps where the fence crossed arroyos, and stock strayed through these openings fairly frequently (277).

Wyman again directed the ethnological portion of the field-school. The students were Joe Reed doing more ethnoentomology research; a Mrs. Bullen studying speech defects; Henry Altenerg and Ronald Smith, whose projects are not known; Paul Burlingame, who was mapping hogans; and Dick Sampson doing linguistic research (278).

Stabilization continued at Pueblo Bonito and Wijiji into June, when the crew moved to Pueblo Pintado again (279). In July, they went to Aztec National Monument, where work continued into the following year (280).

A second rock-fall took place in August, when "a large piece" tumbled from the top of Fajada Butte (281). An early frost during the night of September 8 killed most of the crops in the Chaco region (282).

The CCC camp was abandoned on November 15 (283).

The war with Japan began in December. Aberle (284) recounts the story of a Navajo woman in either Largo or Blanco Canyon who (285)

. . . saw a vision of a field of skulls of white men. The sons of Changing Woman, Born of Water and Monster Slayer, had come and killed them. These sons, she said, were the Japanese

This vision gained little credence, at least among the Chaco people.

The custodian at Aztec reported a far different attitude among the ruins-stabilization unit men working on his monument (285):

. . . After war was declared on Japan the Navajos came to me and wanted to know if the people that operate a cafe in Farmington were Chinese or Japs. I asked them why and they said if they are Japs we will make a drive on them. When I informed them that these people were Chinese, they were satisfied.

Perhaps an omen seen in the rock-falls at Chaco had been interpreted in such a way as to influence the people's views, but more immediate factors probably lay behind the varying attitudes. The Blanco was still a frontier between Navajo and white, where there was little to offset the struggle for land. At Chaco, the availability of jobs and presence of several whites who were not hostile to the Navajos made a difference in spite of the land situation and the large number of jobs given to outsiders. Even in the matter of employment, competition had been restrained by the fact that the men of the region had become so skilled in work on the ruins that they had established for themselves a secure niche where they were not challenged.

White presence was drastically reduced on the monument. At the end of December, only the McKinneys, Whiteman, and a caretaker of the CCC camp remained (286). Grazing on the monument had become almost a game. In January 1942, McKinney wrote (287):

Monument patrol on horseback has been continued throughout the month, about four days a week. Feed is getting short outside, therefore the stock are getting in the monument quite often. It's funny, but when the feed gets short outside, the catches on the gates just won't hold for some reason and they are open most of the time

By February, two of the gates were in such bad shape they had to be brought to headquarters for repair, and the fence itself had been untied in five places. McKinney rather wistfully lamented the fact that the Navajos had plenty of pliers and built a fence around his backyard to keep their dogs out of his garbage cans. He was appointed registrar for the draft, and registered seven men during the month, probably mostly Navajos (288).

With the war, the pressure to control livestock numbers lessened, at least on the reservation (289). Exactly what was happening in the checker-board country is difficult to determine, but in March, Kelsey Presley resigned from the District Advisory Board, alleging that the BIA had brought herds from the reservation into the Taylor Grazing Act lands and was not treating white ranchers fairly (290).

The winter had supplied enough moisture for good plant growth in the spring, and McKinney's reports no longer complained of trespassing stock (291a) (291b). The crew at Aztec returned in April, having finished this work, and probably turned to planting their fields (292). The summer was hot and dry, with poor

prospects for a good harvest (293a) (293b). In July, Claude M. McKenzie replaced McKinney as custodian. The University of New Mexico field-school returned this year, but had only 14 students (294). Wyman again supervised the ethnographic research, and the students were Betty Thorne, who was interested in suicide; Roxanne Winburn, whose project is not known; and Charlotte Dalrymple, who was administering Rorschach tests. The first project resulted in a published paper (295a)(295b).

In October, Irving McNeil, Jr., replaced McKenzie as custodian (296). He soon found himself serving as an unofficial draft-board helper, assisting several Navajos in filling out their selective service blanks (297). In December, he caught a party hauling wood illegally from the monument, although whether they were Navajos or whites is not indicated (298). Whiteman continued to operate the trading post until shortly after McNeil's arrival. Following his departure, Tanner's wife kept it open, probably on a limited schedule, but by Christmas the Tanners had apparently ceased trying to operate the store (299).

McNeil did not begin horseback-patrols until January (300). He found that the neighboring livestock had learned to cross the cattle-guards. It was proposed to enroll local Navajos in a firefighting crew, but when the time came for training, the CCC camp was being dismantled, and much of the scrap lumber was made available for the taking. The local men were too busy salvaging building material to attend the training sessions (301).

Two Navajos had taken employment on a small stabilization job at Aztec in March (302). By April, one had left; the other, Agapito Atencio, got lonely, and also returned. Miller went to Chaco and rehired Atencio, along with his wife Kanapa. Together they were satisfied, and continued on the job until the end of September (303a-303c).

Like those of his predecessors, McNeil's games with the livestock did not disrupt his good relations with the Navajos. He was regularly called upon to read letters from relatives in the Service and to write replies (304). In May, he undertook stabilization on Chetro Ketl, having to delay his project a few days because of a ceremony held for one of the workers. He joined in the work along with the Navajos whenever his other duties permitted (305). By the end of June, the fire-crew had received its training, but there was no field-school in 1943, and the stabilization work was completed on June 30. In July, most of the Navajo workers took jobs with the railroad. McNeil noted that he thus lost two of his best workers (306a) (306b). In September, a Navajo woman was killed by a runaway team, and McNeil spent most of the night helping "as best he could" (307).

He went out to the site of the accident, but finding that it was outside the monument, where he lacked authority, he sent word by J. K. Westbrook to the state police, who conducted the investigation. He later transported the body to Crownpoint, where the superintendent of the BIA School, Hugh Carroll, took charge of burial arrangements (308).

Although the field-school was not in session, one of Roy Newton's daughters was busy collecting samples of plants used by the Navajos for a friend in Aztec, and perhaps for her own interests as well. A brief paper on their uses was published some years later (309).

In October, McNeil had a stabilization-crew again at work, and Russell Mahan at Aztec hired Jerry Denetso to replace the Atencios. He had hoped to hire Roy Newton also, but the latter decided to join McNeil's crew (310). The range was already short outside the fence, suggesting a dry summer, and McNeil found that stock was getting into the monument more frequently (311). The Aztec workers were laid off in December, but McNeil's crew, having finished the stabilization project, was working on erosion-control, planting trees, and building spiders and revetments (312).

There are few data on events during 1944. In January, a Navajo child was buried in the cemetery by Otto Henley of Farmington, the custodian being absent (313). In October, there was a complaint from Willard E. Bradley, an engineer with the soil and moisture office in regional headquarters in Santa Fe, of livestock grazing on the monument and of several breaks in the fence (314). Charles A. Richey, by then Assistant Regional Director, wrote, to explain McNeil's problems (315):

. . . Most of this relates to Navajo Indians and local residents leaving the gates open in the boundary fence. Custodian McNeil has done a good job in educating the Indians and others to close the gates, and grazing trespass there now is very limited. In practically all cases, stock is removed promptly by the Indians themselves. There is now not enough grazing trespass at Chaco Canyon on the fenced portion of the area to retard the re-establishment of the native flora.

The BIA had apparently had some success in gaining access for Navajos to their allotments. Navajocito, who had an allotment in section 20, T20N, R12W, died in October. According to his widow, Na-nuz-bah, he had never lived on the allotment

because it had been fenced in by a white rancher until shortly before his death. When the fence was removed, Navajocito was too sick to take advantage of it (316).

McNeil left for service with the armed forces in October (317). In November, there was no custodian at the monument. The position remained vacant until about the beginning of 1945, when Ted C. Sowers arrived as acting custodian (318a)(318b). Sowers was soon busy trying to hire a few Navajos for various small jobs, reading and writing letters for the local people, and continuing the horseback-patrols to drive stock from the monument. In spite of competition from the railroad for laborers, he was able to hire Roy Newton, Joe Cly, and Fred Yazzie. His duties as secretary included correspondence both with servicemen and with workers on the railroad in Texas (319-322).

In March, the Navajos held a ceremony to pray for those in the Service. This was the fourth such ceremony held since the war had begun. Both Roy Newton and Joe Cly attended, but the name of the singer has not been recorded (323).

By April, Sowers had work underway on fence-repair, tree-planting, and ruins-stabilization. However, he had managed to employ only five men: Joe Cly, Dan Clyde (sic), Roy and Davey Newton, and John Wero. A trip to Pueblo Pintado to recruit workers from that community produced no results (324). With the end of the fiscal year on June 30, the work was terminated (325). Some 6,000 willows had been planted; 17 spiders and three revetments built; and stabilization of walls, doorways, and two kivas accomplished at Pueblo Bonito. Only Navajo labor had been utilized (326). Work was not resumed until September, when four Navajos were hired for soil and moisture work (327).

In October, the first Navajos to receive their discharges, Norman Yazzie and Joe B. Charlie, returned to the canyon. Sowers continued his horseback patrols; worked on a proposed land exchange for the monument; and ran an emergency ambulance service to Crownpoint for Tomás Padilla, who was then about 93 years old. The soil and moisture crew was laid off about mid-December (328a) (328b).

Perhaps the most noteworthy event in Navajo affairs for the year took place in Washington, when John Collier was relieved of his duties as Commissioner of Indian Affairs (329).

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Chapter 10

THE FINAL FENCING: 1946-1948

The new year brought snow and bad roads. Sowers rescued travelers in distress during January: an oil man; the trader from Blanco; and Pitt, the local rancher (1). Once the weather cleared, he resumed patrols. He found gates open, and the wings of one cattle-guard torn down. He drove out some horses and cattle, and made repairs where needed (2).

In March, the Chaco trading post, which had been closed since early in the war, was again in business under the ownership of Glen Whiteman, who had bought Tanner's interest (3). Soil and moisture work for the year began in April, providing jobs for eight Navajos. Oil exploration was increasing, and a nine-man crew rented quarters from Whiteman while working north of the monument (4).

Sargent's lease on four sections in the eastern portion of the monument expired on May 5 (5). These were the former railroad sections, and this end of the monument could now be fenced (6). Sowers patrolled regularly. The only trespassers of note in May were members of the oil-prospecting crew, apparently hoping to survey the more remote portions of the monument. On May 16, a stabilization-crew of 16 men was put to work on Pueblo Bonito (7).

On June 18, Sowers found a herd of 50 cattle on the monument. It took until midnight to drive them out the north gate. The size of the herd suggests that it belonged to one of the local white ranchers, but the owner is not identified. A quixotic event during the month was the arrival by plane of D. B. Clark of Gallup, who landed on the Escavada wash. He proclaimed his intention of establishing an airline between Gallup and Chaco (8).

Sowers was learning more about livestock as time progressed. In July, he reported (9):

. . . After doubting the Navajo story of how horses could walk across the cattle-guard at the north entrance, I now know it to be true. Saw two horses

step carefully across the rails . . . no wonder there are usually a few horses grazing in the north section. This holds true for the south entrance cattle-guard where, last year, I saw a bull carefully cross one.

His solution was to paint the rails in a (10)

. . . confusing design in black and white in order to try and fool horses into believing they can't walk across

The success of this experiment in applying the concepts of wartime camouflage to peacetime needs is not reported. In October, McNeil returned and replaced Sowers as custodian. His first major project was the fencing of the eastern end of the monument (11). Tree-planting and other soil and moisture work continued with a Navajo crew, interrupted only by occasional sings (12). By December, Vivian was also back, and had resumed his stabilization program. With the return of servicemen and war-workers, there was no longer any labor shortage (13).

Signs of economic stress appeared early in 1947. Whiteman was buying Navajo rugs in increasing quantities. One Navajo with nothing left, tried to pawn his wallet (14). By March, with a little encouragement from the trader, the local people were bringing in numerous small souvenir items for sale, such as ashtrays and cradleboards (15). The hardship was reservation-wide (16), and probably less severe at Chaco than in many areas.

McNeil wrote of the fencing crew (17):

The men on the fence job are again working hard and fast, after a shut-down period during cold weather. They are very proud of their work. Today, the Custodian was out near the fence, and the Navajos insisted that he go over and take a look at a new section just finished. Roy Newton, the foreman, went along and proudly asked the Custodian to sight down the fence. It was just like sighting down a gun barrel! The foreman said, "We put it up straight, not crooked like white boys." (He had reference to the men who put in the original fence--not NPS men)

In spite of Newton's concern that the Park Service recognize the skills of his people, the need for work on a monument neglected during the war years soon caused a local labor shortage as weather improved. More men were needed, but the time for shearing sheep

arrived (18). Even the number of rugs arriving at the trading post dropped off during wool season, but Whiteman's optimistic buying was drawing customers from an increasingly wide area (19). The flow of rugs picked up again in June, and the University field-school brought Whiteman a good business both for Indian crafts and groceries (20). In July, he even had a local silver-smith at work (21a).

The return of the servicemen led to a demand for the performance of numerous Enemyway ceremonies. As the community prospered, Vivian found absenteeism increasing as a result (21b). As a young Navajo woman explained the situation to Elizabeth Guy, one of the field-school students (22):

World War II had many bad effects on the Indian soldiers for some of them now suffer from the "evil spirits" of the men they killed in battle. Ada explained that the forthcoming Squaw Dance was being held to drive out the evil spirits of the Germans killed by a Navajo veteran. He has been "sick" and unhappy since returning to the reservation. The informant mentioned that this Indian had been getting drunk and fighting with other Navajos.

With jobs, a good market for rugs and for lambs, as well as a market for coal hauled from local outcrops to the trading post (23), the Chaco Navajos were well able to give attention to the problems of re-adjustments of their returning servicemen.

By the end of November, the fence had been completed and a cattle-guard installed (24). Navajo grazing within the monument, except for use along stock driveways where occasional rights had been established, had ended insofar as legal rights were concerned. Stock still managed to get into the monument; lacking a horse, McNeil was unable to drive out more than those found near the fence (25).

A number of Navajos still lived in the South Gap at Tomacito's old homesite. With their removal in May, Navajo occupancy of the monument ended (26) (27).

The Navajos' problems were not solved, nor were those of the Park Service completely eliminated, but at least a working relationship of sorts had evolved through the years.

Only the one small quarter-section near the west end of the monument remained legally allotted to Navajos, as it remains

today, of the land authorized by Congress for the Park Service. As their level of education has increased and they have gained more experience with the white man's ways, an increasing proportion of the jobs at the monument have been filled by local Navajos. How well the job opportunities compensate for the lands they lost for grazing and farming only they know. Relations between the Park Service and the local community seem no better or worse than those for many national park areas located among white neighbors, but still subject to the uncertainties and misunderstandings that appear when peoples with quite different cultures try to work together.

In the decades since the fencing of the monument, many of the local white ranchers, or in some cases their heirs, have sold their lands to the Navajo Tribe. As Tribal ownership has grown, the country has once again become largely Navajo in population, but the lessees of the ranch tracts have often been Navajos from other parts of Navajo country, and the local people have still been excluded. The descendants of the old Navajo settlers find themselves pressed by growing population; uncertainties as to the future of their rights on the public domain, which are so vital to continued occupation of their allotments; impending strip-mining of coal on a great deal of their remaining range; and a lack of understanding of their situation by many of their fellow Navajos on the reservation. While some try to maintain a traditional lifeway, others have emigrated in search of wage-work in neighboring towns and cities or as migrant laborers in agriculture. The skills gained by three successive generations in archeological excavation and stabilization have made local wage-work a viable option for some. However, boundary questions, and rights to allotted lands and rights-of-way on the few rough roads through the region remain matters of great interest and concern, as does the possibility of conflicts between the imminent mineral exploitation and the Navajos' own economic needs.

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3. Pierson 1956:71.
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